PRO REGE ET PATRIA

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EX BIBLIOTHECA

CAR. I. TABORIS.

THE CONTINENT OF ASIA,

as conquered and governed by

GENGHIS KHAN

and his Descendants, from 1202,

to the Expulsion of the

MONGOLS FROM CHINA,

in 1369; and to the Death of

TAMERLANE,

A.D. 1405.

N.B. For the Explanation of the Map, see Page 500.

Behring's Straits E. Long. 190°

30° East from Greenwich.

EQUATOR.

Tropic of Cancer

London Published April, 1826.

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HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

ON

THE WARS AND SPORTS

OF THE

Mongols and Romans:

IN WHICH

ELEPHANTS AND WILD BEASTS
WERE EMPLOYED OR SLAIN.

AND THE

REMARKABLE LOCAL AGREEMENT OF HISTORY WITH THE REMAINS OF SUCH ANIMALS

FOUND IN

EUROPE AND SIBERIA.

CONTAINING

Life of Genghis Khan, his unparalleled Conquests.—Life of the Grand Khan Kublai: Life of Tamerlane: their Battles; splendid Courts; and Grand Hunting Expeditions.—Siberia described in Summer; Mongol Sovereigns; Invasions from China and Bangalla; Battles; Rich Tombs.—Conquest of Russia by a Grandson of Genghis Khan.—Fisheries of the Walrus, called Mammoth by Siberians: Errors arising therefrom.—Roman Wars and Sports with Elephants and wild beasts.—History of Roman Britain, ending A.D. 427: York the Head Quarters of the Roman Empire for Three Years.—British Emperors; powerful Fleet.—Mines; Wealth; Amphitheatres.—Conquest of Gaul and Spain by the British Emperor Maximus.

WITH A MAP AND TEN PLATES.

BY JOHN RANKING,
RESIDENT UPWARDS OF TWENTY YEARS IN HINDOOSTAN AND RUSSIA.

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PREFACE.

IN the endeavour to trace historical proofs, that the fossil bones of elephants and wild beasts, which have been found in Britain, France, Spain, Germany, Russia, Siberia, and other countries, are the remains of those animals which have been employed in the wars, religious ceremonies, and amphitheatrical sports, of the Romans and the Mongols, (or Moguls): the author has been led on by the extensive scenes of conquest, the extraordinary grandeur of the Mogul Khans, the magnificence of their hunting expeditions and court parades, which so far exceed any thing ever witnessed in Europe; to make a quarto volume of what he imagined might have been comprised in a small compass.

In the progress of these researches, there was such a conviction in the writer's mind of his success in the *main object* of his work, in consequence of some extraordinary discoveries which he has made; that he has been induced to write an epitome of the life of the Siberian Genghis Khan, the most famous conqueror that ever existed; and whose grandson Kublai, on his completion of the conquest of China, governed and controlled an empire much more extensive and populous

than was ever swayed by the Romans, when their greatness was at its utmost height*.

It will be seen what efforts, during this Grand Khan's life, were made to subdue Hindoostan; but they were repelled by the vigour of the Afghan Emperors. Eastern Bengal, or Bangalla, was the only part of that country which submitted to Kublai. A description of the very ancient capital (now submerged) of this Bengal, has, fortunately, been met with.

Siberia, a name which conveys to most readers the idea but of frost and exile, will be found in *summer*, (which season only is here described), a most magnificent region in many parts; the cradle of the greatest conquerors recorded in history; a country unknown to Russia till the sixteenth century; of greater extent than Europe; and so rich in zoology and botany, that the discovery of America, says Pennant, has scarcely imparted a greater number of objects to the naturalist. The reader will find that country connected with China and India, from the earliest ages: and in the thirteenth century vast invading armies, composed of Mongols, Persians, Chinese, and Arabs, commanded by Timur Kaan, governor of Yunnan, Eastern Bengal, and other elephant provinces, stationed in Siberia for many years; to contest, upon the banks of the Irtish and higher in the north, the possession of the most powerful monarchy that has ever been known. *No notice of these invasions has been met with in any history of Russia or Siberia.*

About a century afterwards, Tamerlane, who as a conqueror is

* In the year 1280 the family of Genghis Khan possessed, in longitude, from Behring's Straits to the Don; and all Russia was tributary:—In latitude, from the south of China to the Arctic Ocean, (Hindoostan and Arabia excepted).

second only to Genghis Khan, will be found in Siberia and Russia so high in the north, that the morning rays appeared in the east before the sun was entirely set, (the Mahomedan doctors from this phenomenon omitted the evening prayers), with armies that astonish us at their numbers and discipline; and in opposition to monarchs as powerful as himself, but never so fortunate. The splendour of the court, and of the "big wars *, which seemed to make ambition virtue," of this *destroying prince,* surpass every thing but the fictions of poetry and romance; and it will be seen how extremely probable it is, that he has, in several instances, been adopted as the prototype of the infernal hero of that great effort of the human intellect, the Paradise Lost.

The vanity and folly of ambition were never more forcibly exemplified than in the instant dissipation, by Tamerlane's successor, of the countless and inestimable gold and jewels, the plunder of Delhi, Bagdat, Damascus, and Bursa; and all to indulge the capricious humour of one of the concubines of the Emir Hadji Seifeddin, whom he had privately married, and whose fatal charms destroyed an empire, which was inferior to none on the earth.

The history of Britain will be found to exhibit that province, while under the power of the Romans, as deemed of the greatest importance to those conquerors; and which is evinced by the many Emperors who visited and resided in the island, some of them with their families. The obstinate wars with the unsubdued Caledonians lasted to the term of the Roman domination, and attracted the whole Court of

* The army, from the extremity of one wing to that of the other, extended between three and four leagues. On the approach to Damascus the elephants, in a great rank, marched in front.—See Ch. IV.

the Empire to York, during the long residence in Britain of the three Emperors, Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, the latter of whom had the command of London. It was in the city of York, which was for three years the *head quarters of the Roman Empire*, that Severus celebrated a triumph for his victories in Parthia and Arabia.

The greatness of several of the British Emperors, their powerful armies, fleet, and their conquests on the continent, attest the wealth of the island; and how justly the loss of its mines, its corn, and very numerous recruits for the Roman armies (on the continent), was deplored.

No other person having given a history of Britain with *the views of the writer, a stronger light* is thrown on that part of these researches than has before been collected in a small compass; and nevertheless every essential historical event, that is extant, is related.

That most noble of the brutes, the elephant, will be found in great numbers, climbing the Alps with Hannibal and Asdrubal; crossing the mountains of Greece; and fighting with the Roman army under the command of Acilius and Cato, against Antiochus at Thermopylæ; marching with the Emperor Claudius to the conquest of Britain; thirty-nine slain in one battle in Spain; a hundred and forty employed in a battle with the Carthaginians, at Palermo; of which a great number was killed by the Romans, and above a hundred were captured.

Thirteen hundred elephants at one time, and five hundred on another occasion, were led by the Emperor Mamood against the king of Cashgar, and supported the cold of Tartary, when men and horses perished by its severity. The numbers possessed by the descendants of Genghis Khan would be incredible, if we did not know that all the

elephant provinces east of the Burrampooter were under their control, and that no monarchs on earth were ever so powerful.

The variety and immense numbers of wild beasts destroyed in the circus and amphitheatre are recorded by many historians. Hippopotami, rhinoceroses, camelopards, and almost every known quadruped were employed in these amusements; sometimes several thousands on a single occasion. On one day, forty elephants were exhibited in these cruel but grand sports, with which the Roman people were indulged for many centuries.

Such respectable authors as Pallas and others having asserted, that all the elephants employed in the armies of the Moguls would not account for the vast number of *mammoth's* remains found in Siberia, it was indispensably requisite to give sufficient historical proof of the contrary. The evidence produced in this volume, accompanied with the elucidation of the misunderstandings and consequent exaggerations on this topic, arising from the Siberians calling the *walrus,* (which they kill in immense numbers), by the name of Mammoth, and Europeans always supposing them to be speaking of *elephants,* is deemed, by the writer, a satisfactory proof of the errors and misconceptions on this subject: but sufficient conviction regarding the numbers of elephants, could not be conveyed to the reader, without presenting him with the causes for such extraordinary wars and scenes as are here described; and he was therefore necessitated to lay before him those circumstances which have reached us in various scattered authorities, in order to make out a constructive evidence in those cases, for which direct proof has not been found. In this pursuit many readers will find descriptions and scenes of a nature entirely different from what is usually met with.

The various Chapters consist of those extracts of short passages, and abstracts of long ones, and even of whole volumes, which contribute to prove the point aimed at. The dates and circumstances are sometimes so distant or various as to preclude the possibility of always maintaining a connected narrative like a regular history, nor does the nature of the subject require it.

The author considers himself merely as a pioneer, who has, on a very interesting question, endeavoured to open a new road, which may probably lead to a more extended knowledge of nature and of man.

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INTRODUCTION.

HOW defective is History, and how small a portion of that which does exist is known to any one person! Britain was connected with the Romans about four hundred and eighty one-years: of which a space of three hundred and twenty years is a perfect blank. What little is known is collected from the incidental mention of that island by Roman, and a few Greek authors; Britain itself, it is supposed, not having produced any writer whatever. Siberia was above three centuries governed by the Moguls; and not a word of its history, during that period, is to be found, except what may be gleaned from authors foreign to that extensive region,—Persians, Chinese, Russians, and European missionaries and travellers.

The pride of man, in his intellectual attainments, is humbled at the reflection, that he who can "unfold all Nature's law," measure the diameter of the sun, and the distance of the stars, should, at the same time, be frequently as ignorant as the savage of the most important events which occur, during his own existence, on the

atom of the universal frame which he inhabits. Scarcely any one in Europe believed the narrative of Marco Polo. The information received since the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, has proved the truth of that intelligent traveller's book in a remarkable degree.

At the death of the Black Prince, Timur Bec had worn the crown of Zagatai about seven years; but his exploits had been confined to Persia and his wars with the Mogul princes who possessed Siberia. It is, therefore, very probable, that these heroes never heard of the existence of each other; although a battle, in which ninety thousand men were killed*, would have commanded the admiration of that great conqueror.

To this day, in most parts of Africa, the assurance that, in other countries, elephants are tamed and ridden, passes as one of the "white man's lies†." And can this be wondered at, when my Lord of Gloucester, on examining the grinder of an Elephant, (which animal was dug up at Gloucester, and King James sent Lord Herbert of Cherbury to ascertain if it were a giant's), assured Bishop Hakewill, that "he himself was not confident that it was the tooth of a man‡?"

The discovery of fossil bones of Elephants and certain other animals, has filled the world with amazement; and though history, imperfect as it is, presents us with the solution of the enigma; it

* See Mezeray, Historiographer of France with a pension of four thousand livres. He gives the particulars of the two days at Crecy: Hume states the number of both days to be thirty-six thousand and six hundred.

† A French vessel touching on the coast of Guinea, some of the crew were taken before the king, who was seated upon a log under a tree with the queen, both naked, attended by four guards with wooden pikes: this was his majesty's Court of Justice. His enquiry of the strangers was, whether they talked much about him in France? Montesquieu, Persian Letter XLIV.

‡ Bishop Hakewill's Apology, p. 229.

is quite astonishing that no one has hitherto searched into the *historical* origin of the most remarkable of these remains*.

The ingenuity of the greatest and most respectable authors has been tortured to invent abstruse systems and causes for what appeared so truly wonderful. They, however, have failed to convince mankind of the truth of their hypotheses. The various theories of the earth have been resorted to. Of those which are supposed to have reference to the subject of this essay, the following are the principal; but they are all involved in such difficulties, that perhaps the mind of no person has ever been satisfactorily convinced of the truth of either of them.

Leibnitz supposes that the earth was a luminous *fixed* star; which, after burning for many ages, was extinguished from a deficiency of combustible matter; and that, when cooled, the moist vapour fell and formed the ocean. This theory is deemed altogether hypothetical.

Buffon conjectures that the earth was a portion of the sun, detached from it by the oblique stroke of a comet; and that, being removed to a considerable distance from the sun, it gradually cooled, and the vapours condensed by degrees and fell down in water. But this original formation of the earth has been thought hypothetical by all, and by many fanciful†. It has, however, hence been supposed, that what are now the frozen regions, were once warm enough, from the earth's own heat, to maintain wild Elephants, Rhinoceroses, &c.‡. Others have imagined that the obliquity of the ecliptic was

* The writer has perhaps been more attracted to this subject than any other person, by the circumstance of his having passed upwards of twenty years of his life in Hindostan and Russia.

† See Rees's Cyc. "Earth," "Deluge." Encyc. Brit. "Mammoth."

‡ Pallas at first concluded that the Northern regions had been sufficiently warm to be the native country of Elephants, Rhinoceroses, &c. but, on seeing the spots where bones were

once so great as to include the Arctic Regions within the tropics. But the obliquity being caused by a vibratory, not a rotary, motion; and the mean variation not ever amounting to one mile in a century, renders it impossible that the Arctic Regions could have ever been warmed by that operation, so as to affect this question: for, granting that the obliquity does arise from a rotary motion, it would require more than sixty thousand years to produce a difference of only ten degrees of latitude: and how would this accord with the finding of a Rhinoceros upon the sand of the bank of the river Vilui, in Siberia, Lat. 64°, with the skin upon the head, and the eyelids not destroyed?

A long list of eminent authors attribute the fossil remains of Elephants, and other animals in question, to the great Deluge. "I give the fact," says Pennant, "let others, more favoured, explain how these animals were transported from their torrid seats to the Arctic Regions. I should have recourse to the only one we have authority for, and think that phenomenon sufficient. I mention this, because modern philosophers look for a later cause: I rest convinced, to avoid contradicting what can never be proved." It is not to be supposed that this amiable man and excellent writer deemed that this *fact* was required in support of the truth of the deluge, scarcely any one doubting it, and, least of all, a philosopher like Pennant. In addition to holy writ, almost all the historians of the world agree in this catastrophe; and, therefore, the deluge stands not in need that this additional testimonial should be substantiated. In matters of science, truth alone is the object which every one ought to have in view; and, with regard to the present inquiry, the usual interests and customs of society will perhaps be sufficient to bring

found in Siberia, he changed his opinion, and thought they could have been transported only by a sudden inundation. Rees's Cyc. "Elephants' bones."

the subject home "to the business and bosoms of men," without disturbing either the heavens or the earth. If any one can fairly and completely answer my arguments, I shall admire his ingenuity, and will adopt his better proofs. In the words of Junius, "grateful as I am to the Good Being whose bounty has imparted to me this reasoning intellect, whatever it is; I hold myself proportionably indebted to him from whose enlightened understanding another ray of knowledge communicates to mine. But neither should I think the most exalted faculties of the human mind a gift worthy of the Divinity, nor any assistance in the improvement of them a subject of gratitude to my fellow creature, if I were not satisfied, that, really to inform the understanding, corrects and enlarges the heart."

To return to the subject: The following opinions have been held: Peter the Great conjectured that some Elephants' bones had been left on Alexander's expedition, when he crossed, as is said, the Don*. The Emperor was probably not acquainted with the history of the Moguls, as the books on that subject were then scarcely known. Quintus Curtius was the author whose works heated the brain of Charles XII. and, thereby, created the formidable military power of Russia; with the history of Alexander, the Czar was of course familiar.

Voltaire gave it as his opinion, that the tusks found in Siberia had been lost by traders. Mr. Tooke says, "if Mammoths lived once where their bones are discovered, it is certain that these countries must formerly have had a very different climate. Did they get thither while alive? what inducement led them? have they been drifted thither after death, or are they the bones of sea animals†?" Leibnitz

* Alexander crossed the Jaxartes, which he supposed was the Tanais. (See Plutarch in Alex. and Q. Curtius). This led the Czar to make that erroneous conjecture.

† Russian Empire, Vol. 1, p. 29.

and Linnæus are of opinion that the Mammoths' horns might be morse tusks, but they are differently composed *." Marsigli supposed the fossil remains found in Europe were of those animals slain in the Roman games. Father Martini, who was in China before Du Halde, was of opinion that the fossil bones found in Siberia were the remains of the animals employed in the wars of the Mongols with the Chinese and Indians. Camden says, "the bones of the abundance of Elephants which Claudius brought with him to England, being casually found, have given rise to several groundless stories †.

The reader is requested to keep in mind that the bones of the Mastodon or Mastodonte found in America, on the Ohio and in other places, form no part of these researches; nor do the fossil remains of Elephants, a few of which have been found on the *shores* of America. Some fossil Mastodontes have been found in Europe. The writer is not without hope that he shall be able to meet with something interesting respecting the early connection of Asia with America, and about these animals, when he is more at leisure; some very extraordinary indications, relating to periods long before Columbus, having occurred in the pursuit of these researches.

In reading Eastern History the names—Scythians, Tartars, Turks, Mongols, are often used without discrimination; and without conveying to the reader a clear idea of what people are particularly alluded to.

Scythians, in ancient history, seems to mean, in general, all those people eastward of the Black Sea, from the latitude 40 to the Frozen Ocean.

Tartars, in modern times, is a general term applied to all the tribes between the Volga and the Japan Sea, from about the latitude of 40 to the chain of mountains which divides the flat territory from Siberia.

* Cuvier, p. 55.

† Britannia, p. 347, (fol. ed. 1695).

Turks have been known in modern times chiefly by their conquests in Europe; but Turquestan, the head quarters of which has always been in the vicinity of the Altai mountains, a country rich in pastures, horses, and cattle, has from the earliest times produced some of the greatest conquerors known in history. More on this subject will be found in this volume.

Mongols are not distinguished in history till Genghis, at once, by his bloody victories, immortalized their name. Their native country is the neighbourhood of Nertshinsk, in Siberia, both on the north and south sides of the chain of mountains. The Russians describe those terrible invaders by the name of Tartars. The armies being formed of all the nations in Tartary, and the leaders not having yet become much known, they were, no doubt, *at first* called Tartars; and that name has generally been used in Russian history. The Chinese, in their history, call all their northern invaders by the name of Tartars: Oguz was a Turk, Genghis a Mongol, and Shun-Chi, the conqueror, A. D. 1644, was a Mandshur *. To enter further into this subject would lead to perplexity; all that is aimed at, is to give those readers, to whom Eastern History is not familiar, a guide, however imperfect, through a path which no historian has yet satisfactorily cleared of its impediments.

It has been the object of the writer to give as much information as possible on the subject of this essay in a small compass: any one who is desirous of further information may, by means of the references, procure it with facility in European works. With regard to Eastern

* Perhaps a great conquest was never undertaken with more honor, or achieved with more wisdom, than that of China by the Mandshur Tartars, who are not an uncivilized people. See the History of the Conquest of China, by Palafox, Bishop of Osma and Viceroy of Mexico, 8vo. London, 1671; Tooke's Russian Empire, vol. 2, p. 96; and Du Halde, vol. 1, pp. 238, 239.

History, as those books are rarely read and little known, he has detailed as much as he deemed requisite to give the reader a sufficient knowledge of the customs, and immense conquests and power of Genghis Khan and his descendants: to some readers that portion of the volume will be found very interesting.

The character of the Mongols is a mixture of affection, justice, and mildness among each other: but they exercise the most barbarous injustice and terrible cruelty to those against whom they make war*: one example will shew this in a strong light. In 1221, Genghis besieged the city of Bamian in Zabulistan, belonging to Gelaleddin, King of Carisme. Towers of wood were built to command the city: wild fire, mill-stones, flints were thrown in; and every kind of warlike engine was used. Every day, as many cows and horses were killed as would provide Genghis with fresh hides to cover over his towers, to preserve them from being burnt by the fire cast from the walls. In the midst of the havock, news arrived of Gelaleddin having defeated a Mogul army near Gazna. Genghis swore in his rage that the city of Bamian and the Sultan himself should give him satisfaction. One of his grandsons, during this fury, exposed himself, to please the Emperor, and was killed by an arrow shot from over the walls of the city. He fell dead at Genghis's feet; he was prince Octai's son. The Emperor, who tenderly loved him, was mollified; he groaned, and mixed his tears with those of the mother, who, in a state of distraction, wept over and bathed the body of her dead son with her tears. The Grand Khan, recovering somewhat from his sorrow, endeavoured to comfort this lady;

* "Que d'un côté l'on se mette devant les yeux les massacres continuels des rois et des chefs Grecs et Romains, et de l'autre la destruction des peuples et des villes par ces mêmes chefs, Timur et Genghis Khan, qui ont devasté l'Asie; et nous verrons que nous devons au Christianisme, et dans le gouvernement un certain droit politique, et dans la guerre un certain droit des gens, que la nature humaine ne sauroit assez reconnoitre. Esprit des Loix, L. 24, C. 3.

and left to her discretion the punishment of the inhabitants, when the city should fall. He lavished gold and silver on his soldiers; and, at last, the walls were ruined and Bamian was taken. The mother of the young prince, entering with the Mogul soldiers, could not be satisfied with the murders, but spared neither age nor sex. Not a single person was left alive. Even this dire revenge did not assuage her; but, with the undistinguishing ferociousness of a brute, by the order of this affectionate mother, the beasts and every living creature were killed. The mosques and houses were demolished, and the city was reduced to a heap of ruins. Since this dreadful fate, Bamian has borne the name of *Maubalig*, or the Unfortunate Dwelling. Octai was absent, and the Emperor commanded that the prince's death should not be made known to him. A short time afterwards, the Grand Khan called the family together: and, purposely, talking unintelligibly, Octai made no answer. "Whence comes it," said the Grand Khan, with a fierce look, "that you answer not, when I speak to you?" Octai, believing his father to be angry, threw himself immediately at his feet, and said, "My Lord, if I have displeased you, put me to death; I will not murmur." The Khan made him repeat these words, and asked him, "If it were true that he so much feared his displeasure?" "Yes, my Lord," was Octai's reply. "Well then," said the Emperor, "Muatou Khan, your son, has been killed; and I forbid you to abandon yourself to grief." It was not without much pain that Octai obeyed a command so contrary to nature; and, to diminish his affliction, his father gave him the command of an expedition*.

It is probable that the *populous North* has not contained the multitudes generally attributed to it. The antient natives lived by pasturage and hunting, and, consequently, did not in general build cities.

* Petis de la Croix, p. 306.

Their cavalry was the best in the world*. When their population became strong enough, it required only an ambitious leader to take the field; and perhaps half, or more, of the nation would join him; all the principal persons taking their families with them†; and they could recruit their armies out of the conquered provinces. The plunder being fairly divided, would command volunteers. When it is considered that these troops were in the habit of facing lions, bears, tigers and other beasts, in the manner described in Chapter I. the wonder at a million of such warriors overturning kingdoms and empires, perhaps enervated by peace and wealth, will cease‡.

Hindostan did not fall to the Mongols till the year 1525; that Empire and Arabia excepted, the continent of Asia and part of Europe were overrun by Genghis Khan and his descendants in about eighty years; and the kingdoms were taken possession of, or subjected to heavy tribute. All the countries between the land communication from China and India with Europe, were then, and ever had been, enriched with the Asiatic commerce, and, consequently, possessed immense wealth§. The Cape of Good Hope was not discovered till near a century after Timur's death. Therefore, if extent of territory, number of subjects, and command of the greatest

* Montesquieu, Grandeur et Decadence des Romains. Ch. XXII.

† Some of the Medes drove up several waggons loaden with things that the army was in want of. Some of them brought chariots full of the most considerable women, some of them legitimate, others of them courtezans, that were conveyed up and down on account of their beauty; for, to this day, all the inhabitants of Asia, in time of war, attend the service with what they value the most; and say, that they fight the better when the things that are most dear to them are present. Xenophon, Cyropædia, B. IV. p. 103.

‡ For the manner of fighting, see Timur's battle with the Emperor of Capshac, when he invaded Russia. It is in the note on Russia, Ch. V. of this volume.

§ "The silk of China was conveyed by a caravan in eighty or a hundred days from Shen-si to the banks of the Oxus, where it was embarked and carried down the stream to the Caspian, and thence to Constantinople by the Cyrus, the Phasis and the Euxine." Robertson's Ancient India, p. 98.

wealth, with whatever havock obtained, can be justly deemed to make men illustrious, Genghis's family is the most so of any that are known ever to have existed. "What are the conquests of Alexander compared with those of Genghis Khan*?" Their character as conquerors makes the reader shudder with horror; and it has aptly been said of them, that, "*Vanquished, they ask no favour; vanquishing, they show no compassion*†."

Justice requires that something should be said of the opposite quality of these persons, so awfully terrible as enemies; Genghis never let a good action go without its reward, nor virtue without commendation‡. The fiercest of men were mild and just in their intercourse with each other§. "We are assured by the learned author of the Dabistan, that the Tartars under Genghis were lovers of truth, and would not even preserve their lives by a violation of it||." "Master George Barclay, a merchant in London, having travelled through Russia, went from Cracovia with a Tartar duke, who had come thither to sue for his two daughters, taken by the Polachs. He staid six months with the duke in his horde, which consisted of about a thousand household of one kindred. These Tartars sowed a *three square grain* called Totarca. They lived in such ease and delight, every day hunting, that, for worldly pleasure, he never, any where, enjoyed such a life; with such liking of his Tartar host as if he had been his son. They used to make sudden inroads on the Polachs; the gentlemen of Poland not dining without their guns and soldierly serving men ready to give them entertainment. If the Christians make head against them, they know not where to find them. Re-

* Montesquieu, Persian Letter, LXXXI.

† Letter from Yvo de Narbone to the Archbishop of Bourdeaux. Hakluyt, Vol. I.

‡ Abul Ghazi Bahadur, Vol. I. p. 147.

§ Gibbon, Vol. VI. p. 290.

|| Sir W. Jones, Vol. I. p. 65.

solute they are, and will ride with their bows in the face of a piece*."

The simplest spelling of eastern names has been followed. In referring to various authors, the reader is perplexed by the different spelling adopted by several nations, according to the pronunciation of their own languages. Thus the French write Cha; the English Shah, Shaw; the Portuguese Xa; others write Scha, Shaugh, Sa. Kublai is written Cublay, Koplai, Cobila, Ho-pi-lai. Batou will be found written Bati, Baatti, Bathy, Baydo, Baiothuoy, Baythin, Baythus; so that it would sometimes puzzle the reader to know to whom the name alludes, but for the facts connected with it. Khan is spelt, Can, Kawn, Cham, Cane, Cawn;—Khaan, Chagan, Khaukaun, are said to mean Emperor, or Khan of Khans. Mongol is spelt Mogul†, Mungul, Moal, Magore‡. A list of the editions of many of the books referred to is at the end of the volume.

It may here be observed, that in these researches, very frequent mention is made, in Asiatic histories, of *Chain Elephants;* which always means elephants trained for war; but it is not very clear why they are so denominated. One instance has occurred in the course of reading, long ago, but it is forgotten in what book, where it is mentioned, that a chain being held in the elephant's proboscis, was wielded like a lash among the enemy, but no instance of a chain being thus used has been met with. I find in the Ayeen Akbery the following description of the arming of an elephant. "*Teyeh*—Five plates of

* Purchas, Vol. I. p. 421. XVI Century. Bell of Antermony also speaks of their agreeable kind of life in eastern Siberia. See Chap. V. of this vol.

† Before the conquest of Hindostan, *Mongol* was the usual spelling; but with relation to that empire, *Mogul* has generally been preferred.

‡ For the great difficulty there is in the orthography of Asiatic words in Roman letters, and the hopelessness of uniformity, the curious reader is referred to a dissertation by Sir W. Jones, Vol. I. p. 175.

iron, each one cubit long and four fingers broad, are joined together by rings, and fastened round the ears of the elephant by four chains, each an ell in length; and betwixt these another chain passes over the head and is fastened in the *kellaweh*; and across it are four iron spikes with *katasses* and iron knobs. There are other chains with iron spikes and knobs hung under the throat and over the breast, and others fastened to the trunk; these are for ornament and to frighten horses. *Pakher* is a kind of steel armour that covers the body of the Elephant: there are other pieces for the head and proboscis. *Gejjhemp* is a covering made of three folds, and is laid over the *pakher**."

The Grand Khan, Kublai, is said to have had five thousand elephants†. When it is recollected that he controlled nearly all the continent of Asia, including so many kingdoms which produce elephants: that they were used in his wars, (which were principally against his rebellious relations in Siberia); that it is the invariable and indispensable custom among the Mongols to send to each other presents of such things; that elephants were always employed on Kublai's journies and hunting expeditions; that they were sent to any distance to fetch rare trees for his green mountain, &c.; the number will not be deemed extravagant, and especially when it is known that Asoph ul Dowla, nabob of Oude, kept considerably above a thousand, in his trifling district, merely for *pleasure*, they not being now considered, as they were before the introduction of fire-arms, a principal strength in warfare‡. A gentleman of unquestionable veracity, at this moment, assures me

* Ayeen Akbery, Vol. I. p. 125.

† In the emperor Akbar's establishment two hundred elephants were allotted to each toman (10,000) of cavalry. Ayeen Akbery, Vol I. p. 193.

‡ Captain Hawkins, who was at Agra in 1607, two years after Akbar's death; and who delivered a letter from king James to the emperor Jehanghir, and was received and treated with particular favour; relates that the emperor had "twelve thousand elephants: about five thousand with teeth, the rest females and young ones." Purchas, Vol I. (B), p. 593.

that he was on one of Asoph's parties, when above twelve hundred elephants were in the field. Instances will be found in this volume of numbers quite incredible; but the author was not at liberty to alter the text. The *Truth* in Eastern history is often sufficient to remind the reader of the Arabian Nights; the authorities are given, and every one, according to his knowledge, is expected to grant his belief only to what he may deem probable. It will not be just to charge the writer with credulity.

In these researches the chronology of Petis de la Croix has been adhered to as much as possible; it is the most consistent, and agrees with the Chinese history. In some histories, there is as much as ten years difference in the date of some of the events; but De la Croix is almost always a safe guide.

If some parts of these researches should at first sight appear to the reader rather incongruous, they will, nevertheless, be found to bear directly or indirectly on the main object of this volume; as relating to the power, riches, customs or manners of the Romans and Moguls, and thereby, in the dearth of better materials, tending to prove that what they practised in one country, they probably also pursued and adopted in the others which were under their government.

The writer takes this opportunity to acknowledge the assistance that he has had in these extensive researches from the excellent library of the Royal Institution.

CHAPTER I.

Sketch of the History of the Grand Khans of the Mongols and Tartars, from the Birth of Genghis, A. D. 1154, *to the Accession of Kublai, in* 1257.——*Unparalleled Conquests.*——*Genghis's Laws.*——*Sieges of Samarkand and of Bochara.*——*Imperial Hunting Circle.*——*A Courailtai, or General Council, held at Toncat.*——*Description of Caracorom, the Capital of the Mongol Empire.*

GENGHIS KHAN, according to the eastern historians, was descended from the most ancient conquerors, who have generally resided in the neighbourhood of the Altai, or Golden Mountains*. Kondou, in Daooria, or Dauria, an ancient place, considered to be the same with Tchindat-turookuoy, on the river Onon, in the province of Nertshinsk, in Siberia, bears the reputation of having given birth to the greatest conqueror and destroyer recorded in the annals of mankind†. Ptolemy places the ancestors of the Mongols‡ in the parallels of 50° and 60°, and longitudes 120° and 140°. They are described as a discreet and valiant people§.

* Abul Ghazi Bahadur, P. III. Ch. I. Petis de la Croix, B. I. Ch. I.

† Captain Cochrane's Pedestrian Journey, p. 489. Lat. 50° 23′, long. 114° 25′, by Arrowsmith's large map.

‡ Spelt also Mogul, Mung'l, Moal, Magor, Mogore, Mungall.

§ Strahlenberg, p. 454.

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Jouini, who died A. D. 1284, says, that Genghis Khan's country was much to the east and north of the desert side of Tartary: that the Mongols were divided into tribes: and that Genghis's tribe, called Niron Caiat, was the only one that was civilized*. Genghis was the first who united all the Tartars of the vast regions above the latitude 50° westward (of Pekin), and 55° eastward†.

The silver mines near the river Argun, formerly belonged to the Mongols. The rivulet near them is called, by the Mongols, Mungagoll: Munga signifying silver, and Goll a brook. By the Russians it is called Sercbrenkaia-reka, which also means Silver-river ‡.

A.D. 1154. Timougin, afterwards surnamed Genghis, was born A. D. 1154§. His father, Pisouca Bahadur, was khan of Caracathay, an extensive dominion||. Pisouca having been for some time a prisoner in the hands of the King of China, and being ill treated, made his escape. To aid his revenge he married his son Timougin, not thirteen years old, to the daughter of the khan of the Naimans, who had also cause to hate

A.D. 1166. the Chinese monarch. Pisouca died, and was succeeded by Timougin. The nations under him revolted. His mother, a noble minded princess, animated Timougin to set up his standard. He was taken prisoner, but made his escape.

A.D. 1168. Purta Cougine, another wife, daughter of the khan of Congorat**,

* Petis de la Croix, p. 428.

† Du Halde, Vol. II. p. 255.

‡ Strahlenberg, p. 411. Abul Ghazi, Vol. I. p. 39. Isbrants Ides, in Harris, Vol. II. p. 933.

§ The Chronology and principal events are generally from Petis de la Croix: many are from Abul Ghazi Bahadur.

|| Between N. Latitude 50° and 55°—north east of Caracorum, by De l' Isle's map to the life of Genghis Khan.

** Congorat, on De l' Isle's map, is in lat. 51°, and west of Lake Baikal. This wife was the mother of Genghis's four sons who succeeded him.

was taken prisoner and sent to Oungh*, khan of the Keraits, who kept his court at Caracorum, as Grand Khan; and whom Timougin's enemies pressed to marry this lady himself: but, having been in friendship with Timougin, he treated her with the kindness of a father, and not long after restored her to her husband.

Timougin sinks under the weight of his enemies, and takes refuge with Oungh Khan, who grants him an asylum, accompanied by his most faithful and brave forces, who were few in number. He, by his prudence and wisdom, gains the ascendency over the mind of Oungh Khan; whose daughter, charmed with the valour and person of Timougin, falls in love with him; and their marriage is celebrated with as much pomp as if it had been the Grand Khan's. Gemouca, a despairing and desperate lover of the princess, now Timougin's wife, excites a conspiracy. Oungh Khan, dethroned by his brother Erkekara, flees, and takes refuge in Timougin's camp. A victory is gained over the Tanjouts. A.D. 1174. A.D. 1175. A.D. 1177.

Timougin fights the confederate khans, and gains a most bloody victory. It was not known what became of Erkekara. Oungh Khan was re-established on his throne at Caracorum. A.D. 1179.

Sungun, a son of Oungh Khan, succeeded in producing hatred and jealousy of Timougin; who, fearing he might be seized, retired from Oungh Khan's court. A.D. 1192.

Timougin is declared general of the confederate khans. The armies of Oungh Khan and of Timougin meet in a plain called Tangut. The Grand Khan commanded in person, and his son was with him; both confident of victory. The battle was disastrous to Oungh Khan; he was wounded, lost forty thousand slain in the action, and the best of his troops went over to Timougin. The booty was immense. A.D. 1202.

* Spelt also Um, Un, Aunac, Ung.

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Oungh Khan took refuge with Tayan Khan, at whose court there were some Naiman lords, who persuaded Tayan Khan to put the Grand Khan to death; and he was beheaded. His son fled to Tibet, and lived in obscurity; but was seized as a spy, and executed. Timougin took possession of all the Grand Khan's dominions, treasures, and palaces, by right of conquest. He was declared Emperor of all the Mogul nations, crowned, and all the khans bowed the knee nine times before their new Grand Khan.

A.D. 1203. Timougin vanquished the khan of the Naimans, in a fight which lasted from the rising to the setting sun, most bloody and obstinate. The khan was wounded mortally, and the slaughter was terrible. Gemouca was taken prisoner, and torn limb from limb. In the midst of his tortures he declared, that had Timougin fallen into his hands, he would have served him the same*.

Timougin returned to Caracorum, where, during the winter, his court was filled with ambassadors.

A.D. 1205. Timougin established and arranged his army in tomans of ten thousand; regiments of one thousand; companies of one hundred; and smaller, of ten†.

At the general diet at Caracorum, sitting upon his throne, and surrounded by the princes of the blood, the nevians, khans, emirs, and other lords, Timougin promulgated the Mogul laws, and took the name of Genghis Khan‡. "By the first law, it is ordained to believe that there is but one God, creator of heaven and earth, who alone gives life and death, riches and poverty, who grants and denies whatever he

* Abul Ghazi Bahadur, Vol. I. p. 87.

† This arrangement is very similar to that in the Cyropædia of Xenophon.—See B. XI. p. 46.

‡ Spelt Zingis, Tchimkis, Jenghis, Tchinguis, Chungaze, &c. Zin is said to mean great, and gis is the superlative termination.

pleases, and who has over all things an absolute power." All religions were tolerated. Some of his children were Christians, and Jews, and Mahometans; some, like himself, were Deists.

"The enemy is not to be pillaged, till the general has granted leave, under pain of death. The meanest soldier is to share as the officers. There shall be a general hunting every winter, to exercise the troops. Every one of his subjects is to serve the state some way or other. Whoever steals an ox, or the value of one, is to suffer death: for less thefts, from seven to seven hundred blows, or to pay nine times the value of the thing stolen. Husbands are to be employed solely in hunting and war; all other occupations belong to women. Children born of the first wife are to be most respected. Adulterers are to suffer death. Governors of distant countries failing in their duty, are to suffer death.

"The arms appointed, are the sabre, the bow, the battle axe, with some ropes. The officers to wear helmets, and breast-plates of leather or iron, or an entire coat of mail. Soldiers who can afford it, are permitted to wear armour. The officers are strictly to examine the edges and points of the sabres*."

Genghis takes Campion, the capital of Tangut, and the countries of Crequir and Cuchin. He vanquishes the Merkites, by the river Irtish: he reduces the Kergis under his dominion. A.D. 1207. A.D. 1208.

Genghis gives his daughter in marriage to the khan of the Yughurs. He invades China, entering by the great gate in the wall, and comes to action with the king, who loses thirty thousand men; the Emperor loses a great many officers, and more soldiers than the Chinese. He makes peace, and obtains Cubcou Catune, the king's daugh- A.D. 1210.

* For the whole of the laws, see De la Croix, p. 78.

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ter, in marriage.—Returns to Caracorum with the princess, a tribute of gold, silk, and five hundred young persons of each sex. Altan, king of China, leaves the government to his son, and retires to Nanking*.

A.D. 1211. Genghis invades the extensive country of Capschac, of which the principal rivers are the Volga, the Yaik, and the Irtish, and extending northward to the Frozen Sea. This country had been subject to Oungh Khan. The whole kingdom submits; and the Grand Khan returns to Caracorum, leaving half his army with his son Touschy†, to govern this new empire, the other half being sufficient for any undertaking.

A.D. 1213. The Grand Khan quarrels with the king of China, who had ravaged a part of Caracathay. In consequence of indisposition, he appoints Samouca Bahadur to take the command of the army, with the eldest generals, khans, princes, and emirs, to invade China. The king, hearing that Genghis does not command in person, attacks the Moguls, and is driven back into his cities. The king's son, with the flower of the army, defend Pekin. The besiegers and the besieged were alike reduced to the necessity of eating one another. The city, being undermined, was taken, and no quarter given. The king poisoned himself; and the northern half of China, and all Corea, were added to the Grand Khan's empire by Moucly Gouyanc, the general who was left in the command. Every thing of the plunder that was precious or valuable, was divided according to Genghis's law.

A.D. 1217. Turquestan, of which the capital is Cashgar, is added to the empire by prince Hubbe.

* Abul Ghazi, Vol. I. p. 91.

† Spelt also Djoudgy, Giougy, Dzuji, Joujy, Zuzi. See Petis de la Croix. page 104.

Nessir, Calif of Bagdad, who was in enmity with Mehemed, King of Carisme*, wishing to send an ambassador to Caracorum, found it almost impossible; Mehemed's power reaching from the Caspian sea to the Indus. Nessir and Mehemed were both Mahomedans. The calif's council were divided in opinion, but Nessir's policy prevailed. It was impossible to send any letter or paper; which would, if discovered, cost the ambassador his life. It was therefore resolved to shave his head, and write his credentials by puncturing it with a needle, and colouring the marks with nil (indigo)†. He soon departed and arrived at the khan's residence, assuring Genghis of his master's esteem and affection. Having no credentials, and the Emperor expressing his doubts, the ambassador requested that his hair might be cut off; when Genghis read, that the calif promised to make war on the king of Carisme, if the Grand Khan would attack him on his side. Genghis assured him that if anything should, from the restless spirit of Mehemed, occasion a quarrel, he would not fail to declare war. The envoy returned to Bagdad. Nessir drew on himself the reproaches of all Mahomedans by this act.

Genghis was however desirous to live in amity with Mehemed king of Carisme, to establish a commerce for gold, stuffs, silks, silver, &c. An ambassador was sent attended by one hundred and fifty Mogul merchants, with gold and silver for purchasing merchandize. The governor of Otrar, pretending to suspect that this was a mission for the purpose of espionage, murdered the whole embassy, consisting of four hundred and fifty persons, except one, who fled to Mogulistan with all diligence. Genghis swears revenge. He sends ambassadors by another road to Mehemed, to demand an explanation. Mehemed beheads them.

* Spelt also Charasm, Karasm, Kworasm, Chowarasm; the ancient Corasmia.

† It appears that this is an old practice; see Herodotus, Terpsichore, Ch. XXXV.

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A. D. 1218.

The Emperor with his four favourite sons, Touschi, Zagatai, Oktai, and Tuli, arrives near Otrar (on the Sihon) with seven hundred thousand troops. Mehemed had collected from Khorassan, Balk, Persia, and the borders of India, four hundred thousand fighting men. His son, Gelaleddin, commanded the troops of Touran; the king commanded in chief; Mehemed crossed the Sihon to cover Otrar. The armies meet and immediately range in order of battle, in a place called Caracou. The great trumpet kerrenai, which was fifteen feet long, brass timbrels, drums, fifes, and other warlike instruments sounded the charge. Jougi Cassar, Genghis Khan's second brother, who commanded the vanguard, advanced towards the first ranks of the enemy, who immediately detached some troops to charge him; but this prince defeated them. Then Gelaleddin began the general action by charging prince Touschi, who was at the head of the first body of Moguls: after a sharp dispute, Gelaleddin got the better, and the Carismeans shouted for joy.

Genghis sent other troops under the command of Tuli to support his brother Touschi, while he himself, at the head of the main body of the army, with his son Zagatai, fell on the Sultan. The shock was terrible, and the left wing of the Moguls suffered greatly. The Carismeans, animated by the extraordinary bravery of their sovereign, maintained their advantage as long as they were able: but being forced to give way, Gelaleddin, having beaten the troops sent against him, hastened towards his father, and renewed the battle. On this occasion, Gelaleddin, his officers, and troops, performed actions of surprising valour. The slaughter was prodigious. Genghis now ordered his son Octai to charge the enemy in the flank: the fight continued till dark, when each party gathering up their wounded as well as they could, retired to their camps and fortified themselves, to prevent surprise in the night, with the design to renew the battle the next morning. When Mehemed found, on enquiry, that a hundred and sixty thousand of his

troops had been killed and wounded, and the spies reporting how much superior the Moguls were in number, he intrenched himself securely, and sent part of his army into the fortresses, keeping with himself a flying camp for urgent occasions, and giving the command of the remainder of his troops to Gelaleddin; who, not approving of his father's design, contrary to Mehemed's command, retired to Khorassan, and reinforced his corps.

Genghis sent Octai and Zagatai with two hundred thousand men, to besiege Otrar; and Touschi, with one hundred thousand, to observe, westward. The Emperor and Tuli, with more than two hundred thousand, marched towards Bochara and Samarcand. After five A.D. 1219. months siege, and a most brave defence, Otrar was taken, and the numerous troops in it were butchered.

Toncat, Cogende, and other places, were besieged and taken by Touschi Khan. Cogende was defended against Elac Nevian to the last extremity, by Timur Melec, who, when all hope was at an end, made his escape in seventy vessels, which he had constructed. They were plaistered over with a composition made of wet felt, kneaded with clay and vinegar, so that neither fire nor arrows could hurt them. He was accompanied by his friends and bravest warriors, with his most valuable effects. They escaped by causing a sally, and setting fire to the bridge. After fighting their way down the Sirr, as far as Toncat, they were stopped by a chain across the river; and before they could sever the chain with files and hatchets, they suffered great loss, still being pursued by the Moguls. The prince, with his remaining fighting men, landed, and the fleet escaped into a safe port belonging to Mehemed. After losing all his companions, Timur Melec was pursued by three Moguls: he killed one of them, and bribed the other two; after which he arrived safely at Quent. Many years afterwards, he was in conversation with a Mogul prince, who, speak-

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ing to him contemptuously, was answered with spirit. A Mogul, who was present, and who had formerly been wounded by him in the eye, charged him with disrespect, and killed him with an arrow. Thus fell the generous Timur Melec, who has been compared with the Rustans and other heroes.

SIEGE OF BOCHARA.

The walls of the city were very strong, and the outer wall was twelve leagues in compass. It included not only the suburbs, but also many pleasant seats, and five farms. The Moguls forced the outer wall in March. The Grand Khan, accompanied by his son Tuli, encamped his army and invested the city in form. The three commanders, with troops, basely deserted the city. They were overtaken by three thousand Moguls, defeated, and nearly all slain. The gates were opened to Genghis. The governor retired to the castle, resolved to defend it. The city was entirely filled with the Mogul cavalry; they made stables of the libraries, and litter of the leaves of the Koran. The populace were inconsolable; the wise men said, it was requisite to suffer, without murmuring, since it was the wind of God's anger blowing upon them. The Emperor addressed the principal men. He praised God for the favors he had received; declared that Gayer Khan, who was in chains, should lose his life for murdering his ambassadors by command of Mehemed; whom also he would punish for his cruelties; and that he would clear the earth of him and all other tyrants; for he was inspired by God to govern all the kingdoms of the earth. He then ordered the inhabitants, in proof of their obedience, to discover all their hidden treasures; and to be cautious not to conceal any of the Sultan's friends. In the city, being a place of great trade, there was

abundance of gold, silver, precious stones; and rich gold and silver stuffs. One part was carried into the royal treasury, the officers had a large share, and the soldiers enriched themselves. The Mongul officers discovered that some of the inhabitants had sheltered a few of the Sultan's relations. The Emperor commanded that the city should be laid in ashes. The greater part of the buildings were of wood, stone being scarce. That great city, which in the morning was one of the most beautiful in all Asia, was, on that fatal evening, with the exception of the brick-built mosques and caravanserais, a heap of cinders and ruins. The governor of the castle, finding the place overwhelmed with pots thrown in, full of naptha and fire, and the gate in flames, surrendered at discretion. The castle was demolished, and the Sultan's principal adherents, who had so ill served their master, were put to death.

Bochara was the seat of the arts and sciences: in the university of this city, the learned Avicena studied philosophy, and produced, in prose and verse, more than a hundred volumes, called *The glorious Works*. It is observed too, that he extremely loved wine and women. (He died, aged 58, A. D. 1036).

SIEGE OF SAMARCAND.

After the taking of Bochara, prince Touschi joined the Emperor, his father, in the camp, within one day's march of Samarcand, at this time the capital of Transoxiana, and the Maracandis, capital of Sogdiana, of Pliny and Strabo. The city was now in circuit about three French leagues, surrounded by an outer wall, better built and fortified than that of Bochara; having twelve iron gates, distant a league from each other. At every two leagues there was a fort able to hold

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a great body of troops; and the walls were fenced with towers and battlements. The city was well supplied, by leaden pipes, with water, and fountains and cascades; and very fine gardens, every house having one. From the top of the fortress one sees nothing but trees, roofs of houses, ploughed lands, gardens, and even mountains and vallies, within the outer wall.

The Sultan Mehemed, king of Carisme and all Persia, had retired from Samarcand, notwithstanding the Mongol Emperor's endeavours to prevent him. Expecting that place to be besieged, he had caused sixty thousand Turks, and fifty thousand Persians, under commanders of renown, to enter it; he had also twenty of the biggest and strongest *elephants;* and so many people had taken shelter there, that the place, extensive as it was, could hardly contain them.

The Emperor, having arrived before Samarcand, marked out the posts which the generals were to occupy. When the engines were ready, he caused several places to be attacked at the same time: these attacks were sustained with great courage, and some of the best troops sallied out, and overthrew all they met with; but, perceiving a fresh reinforcement of Mongols, they retreated in good order into the city, with a great many prisoners. Discord crept in among the besieged; some, feeling certain of death if the place should be stormed, were for surrendering the town. But Alub Khan, the governor, trusted to numbers and valour, and was for defending the place to the last extremity, in the castle and best posts of the city. The cady and mufti were deputed by the other party to wait on the Emperor. After they had saluted him, he asked them—What was their business? They replied, to intercede for the besieged; to beg pardon for the resistance they had made, and to assure the Khan, that they were not false to their duty; but that they found themselves constrained by a superior power; which convinced them, that it was God's pleasure

they should submit to the Great Genghis Khan; whose clemency they implored for themselves, and those of their friends who were in the city. The Grand Khan received them with civility; and, fearing to drive the city to despair, he granted the cady and mufti life and fortune, and also all of their party; but firmly refused favor to the rest.

He sent commissioners to take possession of the gate they were to deliver to him. The cady, mufti, and more than fifty thousand persons came out, and were distributed by hundreds in the fields. The governor resolved to seek better terms by resistance, or to die gloriously. For four days they could not force him to yield; the fifth, having lost all the posts but the one he defended in person, he resolved to perish; or, with his chief officers, and a thousand chosen horsemen, to break through the Mongol camp. They surprised the camp, and, in spite of resistance, effected their escape.

The forces remaining in the city lost all courage, and the Mongols were soon masters of the place, which they plundered, ruined the walls, and put to death thirty thousand Turks of tribes that had been subject to the Sultan's mother, amongst whom was the prince of Cangouli, and some petty princes. All the people they intended to make slaves of, men and women and above thirty thousand tradesmen, were ordered out of the city, and distributed among the princes, generals, and other officers of the army; and the soldiers loaded themselves with the spoils. The rest of the inhabitants were pardoned, on paying two hundred thousand dinars, or crowns of gold.

The reduction of Samarcand pleased the Emperor, he not expecting so soon to reduce it. He put the city into condition, reposed his troops, and prepared for other enterprises.

At Gheucserai, without the city, Gayer Khan, the governor of Otrar, was put to death by the Emperor's orders.

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"Samarcand," says Abulfeda, "where the sky is perpetually clear, has fine stone buildings and public market-places, and has considerable commerce with Great Tartary, India, and Persia, from whence all sorts of merchandize are brought; and this city furnishes Hindostan with the best fruits, green and dried. The silk paper made here is the finest in the world. There is a famous academy of sciences. An Usbec prince is at present lord of the city: he is much greater than the khans of Balc or Bochara, who are also Usbecs. These three petty princes are almost always at war with the king of Persia, and are leagued against him*."

The Sultan Mehemed having escaped the vigilance of Genghis Khan, the three famous generals, Hubbe, Suida, and Emir Touquer, each with ten thousand cavalry, were despatched in pursuit of him. "Go, (said the Emperor), do no injury to those who yield, give no quarter to those who oppose you; penetrate even to Derbend in Georgia; raise troops; spare no pains to seize the Sultan, and bring him to me."

Mehemed had fled to Nishabour, and from thence to Bestam, a strong city. Here, in the castle hall, he sent for Omar, one of the stewards of his household; he shewed him ten coffers, which were sealed with the royal signet, and asked him if he knew what they contained? The emir answered, No. Well then, said the Sultan, they are filled with jewels, among which are several of inestimable value, and no man in the world except these two (who were present) knows what is in them. He then ordered Omar to see them carried to the fortress of Ardahan.

Mehemed had raised some troops, and having arrived in Irac Agemi, his son, Rucneddin, the governor, joined him. He had now twenty

* Abulfeda died A. D. 1331. The Usbecs were sovereigns of Samarcand when De la Croix compiled the life of Genghis, which see, p. 228. Abul Ghazi, P. VII. Ch. II.

thousand horse. The Mogul generals surprised him at Farzine, and cut to pieces the best part of his cavalry. The rest fled. The Sultan escaped by cross roads and arrived at Astrabad. Here he remained, concealed from the eager enquiries of his pursuers. A lord of that country, whose uncle Mehemed had put to death, to be revenged, headed some Moguls, discovered his route, and was told by some peasants, that the Sultan was in a town near the Caspian sea, where he assisted at the prayers in the mosque. It is said, that the unfortunate monarch, at hearing the Alcoran read, melted into tears, and made many vows with a loud voice, that if God would deliver him from his danger, and re-establish him on his throne, he would govern his people with gentleness and equity. The traitor lord led on the Moguls, and the Sultan had but just sufficient time to escape into a ship at the sea shore, the Moguls vainly shooting their arrows after him; some even swam after the vessel and were swallowed up by the waves. The Sultan's sufferings brought on a pleurisy, which became so violent, that he was obliged to stop at a desert island called Abiscon. Here, in a profound melancholy, Mehemed's sentiments were divided, whether to chuse life or death. "How uncertain a dwelling, said he, is the world! Is it possible that of my immense territories no more remains but two cubits' length to hold my body?"

His son, Gelaleddin, having discovered this retreat, with two of his brothers, secretly arrived. "Prince, said the afflicted parent, you are the person who, among all my children, are the most able to revenge me on the Moguls; I therefore revoke the act, made at the request of the queen my mother, in favor of Coutbeddin. He then gave his sword to Gelaleddin, and commanded those who were present to obey him. Under the cover of a little tent, this mighty king expired: and the first gentleman of his bed-chamber washed his body and wrapped it in a shirt, having nothing more. Some time afterwards, Gelaleddin

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had the bones disinterred; and removed with great pomp to Ardahan.

Turcan Catun, queen of Tekish, the king of Carisme, sometime deceased, was mother of Mehemed. She was daughter of Hanqueschi, a king in Turquestan; who dying without male issue, his subjects went over to Mehemed, and thus greatly extended his empire, which reached from the Caspian sea to the river Indus. This gave the queen almost absolute authority in her son Mehemed's dominions. She had seven secretaries of state, men of the greatest abilities in the empire, and was called "Lady of the world; protectress of the faith; and queen of women:" she wrote with a very large pen, very curiously, so as not to be counterfeited. She was just, assiduous, and was beloved by the poor. Her signature was obeyed in preference to her son's, when each issued a command. But she was cruel. She put to death twelve children of sovereigns, who were in her power as prisoners. She hated the famous Gelaleddin, who was the eldest son of Mehemed, on whom she had prevailed to name Coutbeddin, whom she loved, as his successor. But before his death, Mehemed annulled that will, and named his eldest son Gelaleddin to succeed to the crown. On this, Turcan Catun resolved to abandon the empire, considering Gelaleddin's mother to be her mortal enemy. She left the city of Carisme, with the wives and concubines of Coutbeddin, and their children, and loads of gold and jewels. She took for her guide, a khan, named Omar, who conducted her to Mazenderan. She retreated into the citadel of Elac, having put to death Omar, her friendly guide, lest he might betray her. Genghis learned from his spies where the queen was; and his general Hubbe besieged the place closely, for nearly four months; when the queen was forced to capitulate. She was sent with all her treasures and court to Genghis. There had been an opportunity to escape to her grandson Gelaleddin; but her hatred of him was

invincible and implacable; and she wished him all sorts of mischief, declaring that she would prefer any slavery to all he could do for her.

Coutbeddin's children were all put to death. The Queen was treated with the vilest indignities, and carried about in triumph, by Genghis Khan, through the territories which she had governed*.

Nishabour, Herat, and Merou were besieged and taken by Tuli Khan, from Gelaleddin. Nishabour was battered by twelve hundred engines, and other instruments of war†. Neither house nor mosque was left standing. The havock, misery and slaughter were tremendous. 'Tis said that the incredible number of seventeen hundred thousand Carismeans were slain in Nishabour, (which had often been the capital of Khorassan), and its dependant cities and country. After many sieges, and horrible bloodshed, the west part of Carisme was added to the empire; the capital of which was taken after a siege of seven months.

AN IMPERIAL HUNTING CIRCLE.

Genghis Khan, being at Termed in the midst of the winter of 1221, a season that prevented him from prosecuting the war, ordered a great hunt, to keep his soldiers in action‡. Touschi Khan, the Emperor's

* The treatment of Perseus and his children by Paulus Æmilius, and that of the beautiful and accomplished Zenobia by Aurelian, were as barbarous. A Briton may reflect with pleasure on the humanity and delicacy of the conduct of the Black Prince towards his unfortunate royal captive.

† The Mongols had Chinese engineers.

‡ This is a very ancient custom, as we may suppose that Xenophon represented *real manners* in his Cyropædia. "They are careful to keep up these public huntings, and the king, as in war, is in this their leader, hunts himself, and takes care that others do so, because it seems to be the truest method of practising all such things as relate to war." Cyropædia, B. I. p. 9. It does not appear that the Persians hunted in the grand stile of the Mongols.

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eldest son, Master Huntsman of the empire, being absent, the Emperor commanded the nevian, his lieutenant, to prepare the chase; and directed what circumference of ground they must encompass. The officers of the army were to follow at the head of their troops, according to the prescribed laws concerning hunting. The officers having led their soldiers to the rendezvous, they ranged them round the space which was encompassed, in the manner of a thick hedge; sometimes doubling the ranks about the circle, which the Huntsman had appointed. They neglected not to remind the troops that it was as much as their lives were worth, to let the beasts escape out of the ring, which was an immense number of leagues in circumference, and inclosed a great number of groves and woods with all the animals that lived in them. The centre of this great inclosure, whereto all the beasts must retire, was a plain marked out by the Huntsman.

The officers of the chase immediately dispatched couriers to the lieutenant-generals for the orders given for marching: the nevian himself went to receive them from the Grand Khan, and gave them to the couriers, who conveyed them to the hunting officers; having well observed where the Emperor's quarters were, and in which direction he would advance. On the couriers' arrival, the orders were communicated to the captains. The kettle drums, trumpets, and horns sounded the general march, which began every where at the same time, and in the same order. The soldiers marched very close together, and always towards the centre, driving before them the beasts. Their officers were behind, observing them; all were armed as if on a martial expedition; with helmets of iron, corslets of leather, bucklers of wicker, scimitars, bows, quivers full of arrows, files, hatchets, clubs, cords, packing needles and thread. It was forbidden to kill or wound any animal, whatever violence the beast offered.—They were to shout and frighten the game from passing the inclosure; for the Emperor so ordained. Thus they marched every

day, driving the beasts before them. All that is practised in war, was punctually observed, centinels relieved, watch-word given. Thus, for some weeks, they marched without interruption; but a river, not every where fordable, caused a halt: the beasts were driven into it and swam across; the soldiers passed over upon round pieces of hide, bound together; several being seated upon one of these bundles of leather, each of which was tied to a horse's tail; the horse drew it across the river, following a person that swam before. Now, the circle lessening, and the beasts finding themselves pressed, some ran to the mountains, some to the valleys, some to the forests and thickets; whence, scenting the hunters, they fled elsewhere. They retreated to holes and burrows; but spades, mattocks, and ferrets, brought them out.

The beasts now began to mix, some became furious, and toiled the soldiers greatly to keep them in the circle, and to drive them from mountains and precipices; but not an animal escaped their vigilance.

Couriers went from different quarters to advise the Grand Khan of what was passing, and to give him news of the princes who shared the diversion and confusion of the chace. The Emperor kept a strict eye on the conduct of the troops. The wild beasts being now hard pressed, the strong leaped on the weakest, and tore them in pieces; but their fury did not last long.

The timbrels, drums, and other instruments, were now played upon; which, with the shouts and cries of the soldiers, so affrighted these wild animals, that they lost all their fierceness. The lions and tigers grew gentle; bears and wild boars, like the most timid creatures, seemed cast down and amazed.

The trumpets being sounded, the Grand Khan entered the circle first, holding in one hand his naked sword, and in the other his bow; his quiver was across his shoulder. He was attended by some of his sons, and all his general officers. He himself began the slaughter,

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striking the fiercest beasts, some of which became furious, and endeavoured to defend their lives*. At last, the Emperor retreated to an eminence, seating himself upon a throne prepared for him. From thence he observed the strength and agility of his children, and all the officers who attacked the savage animals. Whatever danger they ran, yet no one avoided it or gave back, but rather showed more eagerness, well knowing that the Grand Khan, by this, would judge of their merit.

After the princes and lords had had their sport, the young soldiers entered the circle, and made a great slaughter of the various animals. Then the Emperor's grandsons, followed by several young lords of the same age, presented themselves before the throne; and, by a speech made after their manner, desired that his Majesty would give the beasts that remained their lives and liberty; which he granted them, praising the valour of the troops; who were dismissed and sent back to their quarters. Those animals which had escaped the arrows and scymitars got away, and regained their forests and dens.

Thus, the hunting at Termed ended, which had lasted four months, and would have continued longer, if it had not been feared that the spring would surprise them whilst employed in these sports, when the war must be prosecuted. At length, the spring drew near, and the Carismean soldiers being already arrived, they had not a long time to rest; for Genghis Khan put himself at the head of his troops, about the end of March, to pass over the Oxus; and afterwards

* Cyrus, when in the flower of his age, was fond of dangerous hunting. Once, when a bear rushed upon him, he closed with it and was torn from his horse, when he received those wounds of which he ever after bore the scars: at last he killed the bear. The person who first ran to his assistance, he made a happy man. Xenophon's Expedition of Cyrus, p. 37. It is probable that Genghis was well protected by his troops.

went towards Bactriana, where the Sultan Gelaleddin had got an army together.

The Mongols were besieging Candahar, when Gelaleddin learned, from his spies, that they were in no apprehension of any succours arriving to the relief of the besieged. Gelaleddin, having persuaded Emin Melec to join him with ten thousand Turkish cavalry, attacked them so unexpectedly in the dead of night, that the Mongols before that citadel were seized with fear, and the whole of their army were slain. The booty they had accumulated on their march was divided between the troops of Emin Melec and those of the brave Gelaleddin. The plunder that had been taken from the inhabitants of Candahar was restored.

Gelaleddin, who had retired to Segestan, raised twenty thousand men, and arrived at Gazna. His subjects received him with affection. Genghis, who was besieging Bamian, had sent a force towards India, and received accounts that his general had been totally defeated by Gelaleddin; who had returned in triumph to Gazna.

Herat revolted against Genghis; who now blamed prince Tuli for not having put all the inhabitants to the sword. "I forbid you," said he, "to show mercy to my enemies without an express order from me. Know, henceforward, that compassion resides only in mean souls. 'Tis only rigour that keeps men to their duty; and a vanquished enemy is not tamed, but will ever hate his new master."

Gelaleddin, with a reinforcement of 30,000 Turks, defeated 80,000 Mongols near Gazna. Genghis, still before Bamian, attacking it with every kind of warlike engine, by which wildfire and even mill stones were thrown into the city, saw his grandson fall dead at his feet, killed by an arrow shot from over the walls; at which he showed the profoundest grief. Bamian was taken; and, at the instigation of the youth's

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mother, every living being was slaughtered. Genghis followed Gelaleddin to the banks of the Indus; where, after a conflict of ten hours against three hundred thousand Mongols, Gelaleddin's army was so dreadfully defeated, that he had only seven thousand left out of thirty thousand; with which he ventured, from his strong position, to oppose Genghis: and, lest he should be taken alive, he hastily embraced his mother, wives and children, mounted a fresh horse, and plunged into the rapid Indus. Genghis hastened to the bank, and the heroic Gelaleddin continued, while crossing the stream, to shoot several arrows at him and his retinue. Genghis said, turning to his children, "Any son should wish to spring from such a father; and a wise man who has him for his enemy, must always be on his guard." (After various attempts to recover his dominions, Gelaleddin was killed by treachery in Curdistan, in the year 1230).

Genghis finds that his army is diminished by two hundred thousand troops. The strong places in the antient Media and Georgia are reduced by his generals. Moultan, on the Indus, is taken. Herat and Gazna are taken by prince Octai, and most of the inhabitants are put to the sword, in obedience to the cruel commands of Genghis. The generals Hubbe and Suida take Shamakie, march by Derbend, and take Astracan, having made the circuit of the Caspian sea. Genghis leaves Persia, and passes the winter at Samarcand.

ASSEMBLY OF THE STATES AT TONCAT.

"God never made a more delicious dwelling than the city of Toncat," was a common saying. Purling brooks watered almost every street; the suburbs and country seats, were delightful. The gar-

dens were full of fruit trees, murmuring fountains, and most charming walks. There was in this city an academy of arts and sciences. Genghis Khan had been a year in Sogdiana, where he had remitted many taxes for life, and had given the great lords of the country marks of his affection, being pleased with their deportment towards him. But the general joy was damped at seeing the queen Turcan Catun, and all the great officers of the empire, led in triumph, followed by the ladies of the Haram and Mehemed's principal lords. The throne and the crown were borne in state. Thus the Grand Khan marched towards Toncat. (A. D. 1224).

The imperial princes repaired to court. Octai from Gazna, Zagatai from Otrar, Touschi from the frontiers of Muscovy; the last of whom, on coming into the Grand Khan's presence, knelt; and the Emperor gave him his hand to kiss, as he did also to the other two. The presents laid at the foot of the imperial throne were very considerable; but Touschi, besides several rare things, presented his father with a hundred thousand horses; twenty thousand of which were white, twenty thousand black, twenty thousand grey, twenty thousand spotted, and twenty thousand brown bay. The Emperor testified, by his caresses and rich gifts, how satisfied he was with the conduct of his sons.

A banquet was given, which lasted a whole month; for which were supplied thousands of beasts and birds of all kinds by the Khan's falconers; exquisite wines, sherbet, cammez, and hydromel.

There also arrived the governors of Catai, Mongolistan, Iran, Caracatai, Touran, and the khan of the Yugures; also many sovereign princes who had voluntarily submitted to the Grand Khan. Although the plain of Toncat was seven leagues long, it could hardly contain the tents and attendants of these great personages. The greatest part had brought their moveable houses. These houses were built upon

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wheels, with very long beams upon the axle-trees, and resembled European tents; some covered with felt made impenetrable to rain, others with stuffs of various colours; and were of all sizes. Some take to pieces. Each requires from two to thirty oxen to draw it. The small tents were pitched round the large ones of the great lords; and every door opens to the south. The oxen are the finest ornament of these equipages. Those from Tangut can only be purchased by rich persons. They are extremely strong, have hair like horses, and their tails are white and soft as silk. In some places camels are used.

The Grand Khan's quarters were two leagues in compass; with streets, bazars, and public places. The tent for the Diet held two thousand persons. It was covered with white, and contained a magnificent throne; on an eminence was placed the black felt carpet, upon which Genghis sat when he was proclaimed Grand Khan. This carpet was held in veneration as long as the empire lasted. The tent had two open entrances, one of them for the Emperor, through which no other being dare pass, of what quality soever, though no guard was placed. On the tents were streamers of divers colours, of the richest silks. The saddles and horse furniture were set with precious stones. The habits of the great lords were of gold and silver stuffs and rich silks; the weather being still cold, they wore next their skins, sables and fine furs from Russia and Siberia; and over their habits, great coats of wolf skins.

Zagatai had put the laws of the empire into so good a train, that little remained to do but to ratify them: at which the legislator was greatly rejoiced.

The Grand Khan, who delighted in an occasion to make an oration, spoke highly in praise of his laws; declaring that they were the cause of all his conquests, and of the power the Mongols now shared with him. He took occasion to recount his victories; naming every sove-

reign prince he had conquered; not excepting the prince of Tangut, who was there present. Not content to relate the number and names of the subdued kingdoms, to convince the diet of his greatness, he ordered that all the ambassadors who had followed the Court, should be called into the imperial tent, and also all the envoys and deputies of various countries. They appeared at the front of the throne; he gave them audience: and then dismissed the assembly.

Prince Touschi returned to Capshac; his two generals, having delivered over the command of the troops, returned to the Grand Khan; who soon set out, attended by them and all his court, always making the captive queen follow him, mounted on a chariot, and loaded with irons, to shew to the eyes of the nations a proud monument of his victories. On the march, he gave an hour's conversation each day to the two renowned generals, Hubbe and Suida, to relate to him their expeditions, and the rarities they had come to the knowledge of in the strange countries they had been in; and they had something new to satisfy the Emperor's curiosity till their arrival at Caracorum, the seat of his empire, and which became a famous and populous place.

Genghis had grandsons, whom he had not seen for seven years. Kublai aged ten, and Hulacou one year less, were in the city. Their inclinations, and pursuit of hunting, endeared them to Genghis. The first became Grand Khan of the Moguls, and Emperor of all China; the latter, King of Persia.

Schidascou, the subdued sovereign of Tangut, intrigues with the southern Chinese and the oriental Turks, who were disposed to second him against Genghis. The Emperor's army arrived, much fatigued, at Caracorum, in 1225. After the troops had rested, the usual hunting was proclaimed, though the winter was very severe. Before it was ended, Genghis received news that Schidascou had got together a considerable army. The generals were ordered immediately to col-

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lect the troops, and to clothe them in coats lined with sheep skins, and to cover the horses with felt.

The preparations for war did not stop the diversions of the court. There were many marriages between the princes and princesses of the imperial family. Public feasts, suitable to their quality, and many horse races were exhibited. The soldiers who were laden with plunder, purchased and married the handsomest maidens.

Some troops marched to Tangut. Schidascou was startled at the news, not expecting them till spring. The weather is not warm in Tangut till June. The Mogul troops did not advance for fear of being surprised. The Emperor reviewed his army, and sent a hundred thousand troops for China, fearing a revolt if he should not be successful. He then marched with the rest to Tangut. He found that he should have, when joined with the forces already there, three hundred and fifty thousand. His army was divided into ten bodies. Zagatai and Octai commanded the two first. Hubbi, Suida, Caraschar, and other distinguished generals, commanded the rest. But all of them were subject to prince Tuli. There was a flying camp for the instruction of his grandsons, Kublai and Hulacou.

The army crossed a desert of forty days' journey, took the city of Azine, and reposed.

Schidascou had five hundred thousand troops mostly furnished by the Chinese of Manji. Genghis, whose troops were from Carisme, India*, Geta, and other places, and much inferior in number, advanced, thinking he had the advantage of discipline over inexperienced soldiers. The Mogul officers, though very rich, and the troops also, were, by Genghis's orders, dressed very plainly. Schidascou's were in clothes of gold, silver, and silk.

* Meaning the contiguous countries *west* of the Indus.

Schidascou sent a hundred thousand horse to attack the vanguard of the Moguls, but they could not make any impression on them; and they retired to the main army with loss.

Genghis advanced, and the armies came in sight of each other. Schidascou's army covered a large space. Genghis took a position on an extensive lake, still quite frozen. The Moguls had quickly the advantage, but the generals Mayan Khan and the prince of Jurge withstood their fury; and, charging the two wings of the Emperor's army, killed thirty thousand of his troops. This success was fatal; for, believing the Moguls defeated, they continued the fight without keeping their ranks; and the corps de reserve coming up, Schidascou, who shewed extraordinary bravery, was vanquished. It is said, that he lost three hundred thousand soldiers on that dreadful day. After this victory, Genghis marched against the Turks of Jurge, who submitted. He passed the next winter in the west of Tangut, meaning to conquer Southern China.

News arrived of the death of the Calif of Bagdat. New levies were ordered; and Genghis secured to himself the countries dependant on Tangut. There needed so fertile a country, and of such vast extent, to subsist so numerous an army for so long a time. The conquest of the rest of China appeared not difficult to Genghis; and he said, that he now wished for nothing more than the good of his subjects. But his prosperity and joy were to be turned into sorrow. While he was diverting himself in the midst of his family, he was informed by a courier from Capschac of the death of Touschi Khan, his eldest son. The whole court was afflicted. The Emperor shewed at first much constancy of mind; but fatherly affection got the better of him, and he fell into a profound melancholy.

An officer arrived from Schidascou to entreat that the Emperor would forgive his revolt, and accept his services. Genghis gave him

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audience, and promised to grant Schidascou his friendship. The army was encamped near a forest, in a marshy country, on the road to China. The Camp, of tents and moving houses, had the appearance of a large city.

Genghis, finding himself extremely ill, ordered all his sons, their children, and the princes of the blood, into his presence. He placed himself upright, notwithstanding his pain; and, with his usual majestic look, which commanded awe and respect, even from his children and the sovereigns of the East, he told them, that he found his spirits sunk, and that he must prepare for death. "I leave you," said he, "the greatest empire in the world; if you would preserve it, be united, and observe the laws which I have established; but, if you walk in the paths of dissention, your subjects, that is to say, your enemies, will soon be masters of your empire." He named his third son, prince Octai, for his successor, as Khan of Khans; and all the rest, bowing the knee, cried—"What the great Genghis Khan ordains is just, and shall be obeyed without disputing." The Emperor died
A.D. 1226. towards the latter end of the year, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Eight days after the Emperor's decease, which was kept secret, Schidascou, accompanied by his children and some lords, arrived. An appearance of rejoicing, as if for the Emperor's recovery, was put on, to inveigle him into the camp. He and his party were all put to death, according to orders left by Genghis*. By this bloody treachery, Tangut was annexed to the empire of the Moguls. After this,

* Abul Ghazi relates, (p. 144), that Genghis received the envoy with great civility, but did not put himself under any positive engagement with respect to Schidascou; who was afterwards besieged in his capital, (Campion), captured, and put to death, but Genghis's unsparing cruelties sanction the suspicion of any political enormity whatever.

the Emperor's decease was made public, and the grief and consternation were general.

The Grand Khan was buried with the utmost respect and magnificence, with all the pompous ceremonies of the Mogul religion. His corpse was interred according to his own desire, under a tree of singular height and beauty, where, in his return from the chase, some days before he fell sick, he had rested himself with much satisfaction. A most noble monument was erected upon his grave. The people who came to visit the tomb, planted other trees around it; which so artfully covered it, and in such beautiful order, as rendered it, in time, one of the finest monuments in the world. It is in latitude 39°, longitude 108° north of the great wall. There was a great resort of sovereigns to the court for six months, to comfort the afflicted princes.

Genghis Khan had numerous wives and concubines. The five daughters of Oungh Khan, of the King of China, of the Khans of the Naimans, Congorat, and the Merkites, principally shared his esteem; the daughter of the last was a remarkable beauty. He left a prodigiously numerous progeny; but his four favourite sons and successors were all born of one mother, Purta Cougine, the Congorat Khan's daughter: the rest of the princes were appointed and limited to petty governments.

Touschi, was the eldest of Purta Cougine's sons, the second was Zagatai, the third Octai, and the fourth Tuli. Genghis having studied their tempers, had appointed Touschi to be Master Huntsman of the empire, the most considerable post; the Mongols being obliged to exercise themselves in the Huntings. Zagatai, was chief judge, and director of all the courts of justice in the empire. Octai from his prudence and wisdom, was chief counsellor. The affairs of war were committed to Tuli, and he was paymaster to the royal camp or golden horde. At the death of Genghis, the empire remained, nearly, as he had divided it during his life.

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Touschi, the eldest son, just deceased, was succeeded in the sovereignty of Capschac by Batou his eldest son; a name terrible to Russia, and alarming even to Europe*. For a description of Capschac, see Chapter II.

Zagatai had for his part Transoxiana, the country of the Yugures, Cashgar, Badachshan and Balc.

Tuli had Chorassan, Persia, and India (so called) west of the Indus. He died while in Catai (or Cathay), with Octai, in 1229.

Octai, the new Grand Khan, kept for his division Catai or the northern half of China, the conquest of which he completed, Tangut, Corea and eastern Siberia. His army consisted of fifteen hundred thousand troops. He usually resided at Olougyourt, a city not far from Caracorum, where he made a park for game, many miles in circuit, and greatly embellished both these cities†. Octai was, according to eastern historians, a more virtuous and enlightened monarch than Genghis. He had much warfare and some success against the Chinese of Manji‡; and his armies subdued the Sultan of Iconium and overran Asia Minor. "Octai died," says Mr Tooke, "in consequence of a propensity worthy of this universal despot, (the effects of a fit of drunkenness); and his death saved Asia for a time, and Europe for ever. An interregnum of four years succeeded. The widow of Octai (the celebrated Tourakina Catun), by whose intrigues that prince was thwarted in all his ordinances, now set herself up as regent of the empire; in which office she was continually making innovations, that tended to general mischief.

* A. D. 1238. The inhabitants of Gothia and Frize were prevented, by their fear of the Tartars, from sending as usual their ships to the herring fishery on the coast of England: and, as there was no exportation, forty or fifty of these fish were sold for a shilling. Gibbon, Ch. LXIV. note 28, (from Mat. Paris, p. 396).

† This khan's name is spelt sometimes Ugadai, Occadai.

‡ Levesque, Vol. II. p. 78, Vol. VII. p. 18, says, "he finished the conquest of China:" but it was only Catai, or the northern division, as will appear in Ch. II.

"Ilidchutzay, a descendant of the dethroned imperial house of the Kitanes, died of grief, at the increasing desolation of the country which was now become his second home: he found all his efforts to no purpose; he was a truly great and noble minded man, and first officer of state under Octai. He polished the Mongols, and introduced the arts and sciences among them, as far as he was able. He saved millions from their impending fate from the savage Mongols; and highly merits to live in the hearts of mankind. On his death, instead of the vast treasures that were expected, no property was found in his possession, except several books, composed by himself, on history astronomy and political economy, collections of coins, maps, pictures, &c. Who does not feel satisfaction in finding one man, worthy of that name *, among such a horrid crew of blood-thirsty barbarians†?"

Keyouc succeeded his father Octai; he was not crowned till the year 1244. A description of his magnificent coronation is given in the chapter on Siberia. He is there named Cuyne, (a probable misprint). Keyouc died in 1246. A.D. 1241.

Mangou, son of Tuli, through the influence of Batou, succeded to the empire. In 1251 he gave a feast at Caracorum, in which were A.D. 1246.

* In the character of this great man, we may feel the full force of the poet's remark:

"Court-virtues bear, like gems, the highest rate,
Born where heav'n's influence scarce can penetrate:
In life's low vale, the soil the Virtues like,
They please as beauties, here as wonders strike.
Though the same sun with all diffusive rays
Blush in the rose, and in the diamond blaze,
We prize the stronger effort of his power,
And justly set the gem above the flower."

Pope, Moral Essays, Ep. 1.

† Tooke, Vol II. p. 5 to 13. Carpin relates that Octai was poisoned; and that his concubine and her confederates were executed while he was at the court. Hakluyt, Vol. I. p. 66.

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consumed for seven days, *daily*, eight chariot loads of wines, two of brandy, twenty of kumis (mare's milk made sour, and twice distilled in an earthern pot), which is as clear and as good as *aqua vitæ*, made from grain; three hundred horses, three hundred cows, and two thousand sheep for the kitchen*. Mangou had succeeded his father Tuli in the government of Chorassan, Persia, &c. which, during his life, continued under the Grand Khanate, and were governed by his brother Hulacou, as viceroy. He died in 1257 before the city of Cheu (Ho-cheu), which fell afterwards to Kublai†. The extensive country called Thibet, was conquered with difficulty, and cruelly desolated in this khan's
A.D. 1257. reign. (Marco Polo p. 412). Kublai succeeded his brother Mangou, and resided in China. By his command, Hulacou mounted the throne of Persia, &c. For the history of Kublai see Chapter II.

BATOU, KHAN OF CAPSCHAC.

This conqueror, a grandson of Genghis, reduced Russia and western Siberia: he afterwards, with half a million of troops, ravaged Poland, destroyed Cracow and Lublin; entered Moravia, Dalmatia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, and other countries. Massacre and destruction marked his course. He invaded Hungary to go and besiege Constantinople: but his projects were arrested by death in 1256.

William De Rubruquis, a monk, was sent as ambassador from St Louis to Tartary and China in 1253‡. "When I beheld the court

* Abul Ghazi, Vol. I. 159. and Vol. II. 403.

† Sir William Jones, Vol. I. p. 101. At the funeral of Mangou, it is asserted that vast numbers of human beings were slain, to attend their deceased master: although this is the only mention of such a horrid custom having been actually practised at the funeral of a Mogul Grand Khan, it is to be feared that it may be true. See M. Polo, p. 200, note 381. Petis de la Croix, p. 382. Herodotus, Melpomene, LXXI.

‡ Louis IX. had been informed, falsely, by a Mongol khan and the Armenian

of Batou," says Rubruquis, "I was astonished; the houses and tents were like some mighty city for the space of three or four leagues (Serai, was then being built). The court is called Orda. A large tent was erected, and the day following we attended at court. Batou sat upon a seat, long and broad like a bed, gilt all over, with three steps to ascend; and one of his ladies sat beside him. The men sat promiscuously, on the right and left of the lady. At the entrance of the tent was a bench, furnished with kumis, and with stately cups of silver and gold, richly set with jewels. We stood bare-foot and bare-headed, and were a great and a strange spectacle in their eyes. We bowed our knees, and stood for a space wherein a man might have rehearsed the psalm *miserere mei Deus;* and there was a profound silence. Batou beheld us earnestly, and we him: he seemed to resemble, in person, Monsieur Jean de Beaumont, whose soul resteth in peace, for, like him, he had a fresh ruddy countenance.

"Batou asked—'If your Majesty had sent an ambassador to him or no?' I answered—'that your Majesty had sent ambassadors to Ken Khan, and letters to Sartach, (these were Batou's sons, and his viceroys between the Volga and the Don), being persuaded that they had become Christians.' The guide directed us to kneel on both knees; and we were commanded to speak. Then I, thinking of a prayer unto God, because I was upon both knees, began to pray—'Sir, we beseech the Lord, who hath given you these earthly benefits, that it would please Him, hereafter, to make you partake of His heavenly blessings, because the former, without these, are vain and unprofitable, and you will not obtain the joys of heaven, unless you become a Christian.'

ambassadors, that the chiefs of the Mongols had embraced Christianity. The Mongols having vanquished the Saracens in Asia Minor and Syria, Louis courted their alliance. See Mezeray, A. D. 1249.

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"At this, Batou modestly smiled. The other Moguls began to clap their hands, and deride us; and my silly interpreter, from whom I expected comfort, was utterly out of countenance. After silence, I said—'I came to your son, because we heard he had become a Christian, and brought him letters from my lord the King of France; and your son sent me to you: the cause of my coming is therefore best known to yourself.' The khan caused me to rise: he enquired your Majesty's name, and my name, and caused them to be written down. He demanded—'Against whom you waged war?' I answered—"Against the Saracens, who had defiled the house of God at Jerusalem." (Batou was a Deist, his successor became a Mahomedan). He asked me—'If your Majesty had ever sent him an ambassador before?' I answered—'To you, Sir, never.' He then gave us milk to drink, and kumis, a special favor.

"As I sat looking down on the ground, he commanded me to lift up my countenance; being desirous yet to take a more diligent view of us. Then we departed. The guide said—'Your master, the king, requesteth that you may remain in the kingdom; which request Batou Khan cannot grant, without the consent of the Grand Khan, Mangu: wherefore you and your interpreter must go to him at Caracorum.'—(Fifty-seven degrees to the east!)

"We set out; and of hunger, thirst, weariness, and cold, there was no end. In the morning, we had a little drink, or some boiled millet; in the evening, some ram's mutton, or broth. Zinghis, the Great Khan, had four sons, from whom proceeded many children; every one of which doth at this day enjoy great possessions: and they are *daily multiplied and dispersed over that huge and vast desert;* which is in demensions like the ocean. Our guide led us to many of their habitations, and they marvelled exceedingly that we would not receive gold, silver, or precious garments, at their hands. They en-

quired about the Pope, and asked if it was true, that he was five hundred years old*? We saw many wild mules.

"We arrived at court. I could no longer go barefoot, the cold was extreme: and in May, it froze in the morning and thawed in the day. There is no wind in the coldest weather, or nothing could live.

"At the end of April, the streets of Caracorum were so full of snow, that it was removed in carts.

"Mangu Khan has at Caracorum a large court, near the walls of the city, inclosed with a brick wall; where is a great palace, in which a grand feast is held at Easter, when he passes that way, and in summer when he returneth; all the nobles meet here, and he displays his magnificence.

"Within the walls of the court there are also many dwellings, about the size of our farm-houses. William Bouchier, the goldsmith, had made, because it was indecent to have flaggons going about as in taverns, a silver tree and four silver lions, and four pipes to convey to the top of the tree and spread downward, through four serpents' tails, from which were conveyed wine, caracosmos, hydromel, and teracina (made from rice), into silver vessels, at the foot of the tree. At the top was an angel holding a trumpet; the boughs, leaves, and fruit, on the tree, are all silver. When the angel sounds the trumpet, the liquors are poured out and served to the company.

The palace is like a church, having two rows of pillars, and three gates to the south. Before the middle gate, is the tree; and the khan sits on the north front, on a high place, ascending by two flights

* The Delai Lama, who is the pope of those vast regions, never dies: his soul being discovered in the body of some child, by tokens known only to the priests: and always in one of that order.

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of steps: by one, the cup bearer mounts, and descends by the other.

" The Grand Khan sits above, like a god. On the right are his sons and brethren; on the left, his wives and daughters; one of the Empresses sits beside him, but not so high.

" We arrived near Caracorum on Palm Sunday; we blessed the willow boughs, which had yet no bud. We entered the city about nine, carrying the cross aloft; passing through the street of the Saracens, where the market and fair are, to the church; and the Nestorians met us in procession. Mass was said, and they communicated.

" Master William, the goldsmith, brought us, with joy, to his inn, to sup with him; he had a Mahomedan wife, who was born in Hungary, and could speak the French and Comanian languages. We found there one Basilicus, the son of an Englishman, born in Hungary, and who was skilful in the same languages.

" Next morning the khan entered his palace. I much deliberated whether I should go to him with the monk and the priest, seeing their actions were full of idolatry and sorcery; but, fearing offence, I went, and prayed for the whole church with a loud voice; and also for the khan himself, that God would direct him in the way of salvation.

" The palace was full of men and women; the court of which was very neat; the rivers, in summer, being conveyed to every place, whereby it is watered.

" The city of Caracorum is not so good as the Castle of Saint Denis; and the monastery of Saint Denis is worth ten times the palace. There are but two streets; one for the Mahomedans, where the fairs are kept; and many merchants resort thither by reason of the court,

and the number of ambassadors. There is also a street for the Cathayans. Without those streets, there are great palaces, which are the courts of the secretaries*.

" On our arrival, we, and all strangers, severally, were called before Bulgai, the chief secretary, and diligently questioned; for Mangu Khan had been told, that four hundred assassins had gone forth, in divers habits, to kill him†. His mother is a Christian, and Master William is her servant.

" Having had permission to stay two months, and five being gone by, I was sent for, and the khan asked me—' If I would have gold, silver, or costly garments?'—which I declined; but said, we have not wherewith to bear our expenses; on which, he provided for us all necessaries to pass through his country. ' You came from Batou Khan, and must return that way,' said he. I then said—' I would request your Magnificence, when I have carried your letters, that it may be lawful for me to return.' He held his peace, as it were in a muse. My interpreter desired me not to speak; and Mangu Khan said—' Make yourself strong with food;' and he caused them to give me drink, and I departed. If I had been endowed with power to do wonders, as Moses did, peradventure he had humbled himself.

" I saw, at Caracorum, the ambassador of the Khan of Bagdat, and one from a Soldan of India, who brought eight leopards, and ten hare

* Some account of the ruins of Caracorum and Olougyourt is given in the fifth Chapter.

† In 1262, Hulacou, King of Persia, sent an army, and besieged the old man of the mountain for three years. The old man was put to death, his castle dismantled, and his paradise destroyed. Marco Polo, p. 112; where there is a full description and notes. This inhuman being, and his subjects, pretended that they were descended from Arsaces, founder of the Parthian empire. They were for that reason called *Arsacians;* which has been corrupted into the word *Assassins.* See Abul Ghazi Bahadur, Vol. I. p. 185, note.

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hounds, taught to sit on the horses' buttocks, as leopards do, for hunting. There were ambassadors from the Soldan of Turkey, who brought rich presents; they told the Grand Khan he wanted not gold or silver, but men; and that he required of him an army.

"We would not wait for company to travel by the towns or villages, but we went high in the north, it being summer, and found no towns, but many tombs. We descended from the north to Serai, where Batou's palace stands, just one year after we had departed. When I left Serai, we met with one of Batou's sons, with many falconers and falcons. We proceeded through Derbend, by the river Araxes, and Turkey, to Cyprus*.

"The substance of the long letter of Mangu to St. Louis, is—'There is but one eternal God in heaven; and on earth, but one lord, Genghis Khan. The man, called David, who said he was our ambassador to you, was a liar. You sent ambassadors to Sartach, Sartach sent them to Batou, and he to me, as the greatest. If you will obey us, send ambassadors, and we shall know if you will have war or peace. If you lead an army against us, to know what we can do, the eternal God himself alone knows that.†'"

* St. Louis was then at Cyprus. It was in the year of Rubruquis' return, that this king requested Pope Alexander IV. to appoint Inquisitors in France; where the butchery of heretics was horrible. See Rees's Cyc. "Inquisition."

† William de Rubruquis, in Harris's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 556. The letter was in the Mongol language, but in the Yugurian characters. The lines were from the top to the bottom, and multiplied from the left to the right. The Monguls adopt the Yugurian character in preference to their own. P. de la Croix, p. 96.

M. Gauci litho:

Printed by C. Hullmandel

THE EMPEROR KUBLAI,

GRAND KHAN OF THE MONGOLS AND TARTARS:

Commanding in a battle fought
between Pekin & Siberia in which were
860,000 Combatants.

Published April 11th 1826.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Grand Khan Kublai, whose domination exceeded that of Augustus.——Conquest of Manji, or South China; Bangalla; Burmah; &c.——Numerous Elephants received in tribute.——Rebellion in Siberia.——Invasion of Java.——Invasion of Japan.——Pomp and Splendour of his Court.——Magnificent Hunting Expeditions.——Failure of Attempts to conquer Hindostan.

THE Roman Empire, in its utmost grandeur, under Augustus Cæsar, comprised not near the extent of territory, number of subjects, or riches of this Mongul Emperor; the fruits of less than eighty years*. Kublai was the third son of Tuli, (who was the fourth son of Genghis Khan,) a distinguished general, and treasurer of the army and the royal camp. Kublai was born in the year 1214. A.D. 1214.

* The Roman empire was two thousand miles in breadth from the wall of Antoninus in Britain and the northern limit of Dacia, to mount Atlas, and the Tropic of Cancer. It extendedin length more than three thousand miles, from the Western Ocean to the Euphrates. Gibbon, Chapter I.

The Mongul empire was two thousand four hundred miles in breadth from Yunan to latitude *sixty:* and in length, from the sea of Japan to the Don, upwards of four thousand miles. The comparison is therefore *enormously* in favour of Genghis's family.

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The first pleasure the Emperor enjoyed, on his return to Caracorum, was the sight of some of his grandsons, whom he had not seen for seven years. Among these were two, of whom he had conceived
A.D. 1224. great hopes: their names were Kublai and Hulacou; the first, about ten, the other nine years old. They continually employed themselves in hunting, a disposition much admired by the Mongols.

The Grand Khan was so extremely pleased at their courage and inclination for this sport, that he gave them employments near him; and took the trouble to instruct them himself. On the march to Tangut, the emperor ordered a flying camp for the instruction of these two favourite grandsons, who became so famous in history. In 1226, Genghis Khan died.

The Grand Khan Mangu, some years before his death, appointed Kublai viceroy of the conquered part or northern half of China.

When Mangu was killed in China, his brother Kublai was pro-
A.D. 1257. claimed Grand Khan. He is described as of "the middle stature, his limbs well formed, and his whole figure of a just proportion. His complexion is fair and occasionally suffused with red, like the bright tint of the rose, which adds much grace to his countenance. His eyes are black and handsome, his nose is well shaped and prominent*."

The youngest brother, Articbouga, opposed Kublai's advancement to the throne of the empire, and set up his standard, at the head of a large army, at Caracorum: he had also a great party in the Chinese provinces, who favoured him.

After several battles, in the last Kublai gained a bloody victory. His brother was taken prisoner, closely immured, and died at the end

* Marco Polo, p. 281.

of a year*. After this war, Kublai resided entirely in China: first, at the capital of Shan-si, and afterwards at Pekin†.

From 1268, during the whole reign of Kublai, to 1294, he carried on a war with his nephew, Kaidu, who was very powerful. The battles were generally fought on the banks of the Irtish‡. A.D. 1268.

In a great battle with the king of Mien and Bangalla, the Grand Khan's general captured more than two hundred elephants. From this period the Grand Khan has *always chosen to employ elephants in his armies,* which before that time he had not done. By this victory his majesty annexed to his dominions the whole of the territories of the king of Bangalla and Mien§. Mien is a magnificent city||, the capital of a kingdom, a former monarch of which, when he was near his end, gave orders for erecting, on the place of his interment, two pyramidal towers, ten paces in height, entirely of marble, each terminating with a ball; one of these pyramids was adorned with a plate of gold an inch in thickness. The tomb was covered with a plate partly of gold, partly of silver. Around the balls were suspended small bells of gold and silver, which sounded when put in motion by the wind. A.D. 1272.

* Petis de la Croix, p. 399. Levesque says, Kublai was the youngest brother; but he gives no authority for that assertion.

† Pekin is the Chinese name, meaning the northern Court. Khanbalig or Cambalu is the Tartar name, signifying the city of the Khan or sovereign. See Notes to Marco Polo, B. II. Ch. VII. Du. Halde, Vol. I. p. 215. Mr. Bell, chap. XI. says "On the 15th of February, 1721, I took a ride round the walls of the city which I performed at an easy trot in four hours; whereby the compass of Pekin may be nearly computed. The suburbs, especially to the east and south, are very extensive, and, in many places of them, the buildings are equal to those within the walls.

‡ See Chapter V. on Siberia.

§ Marco Polo, p. 441. For some account of the battle, and for the description of this Bangalla, see chapter VII.

|| Could this city be Ava? see Marco Polo, note 864.

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This sepulchre was respected by the Grand Khan's commands, the Tartars never violating the tombs of the dead. In this country were found many elephants, handsome wild oxen, stags, rhinoceroses, and other animals, in abundance*.

Thibet belongs to the Grand Khan, having been conquered and devastated by Mangu Khan. Tigers have multiplied to an astonishing degree. Here are found the musk animals, and wild oxen, extremely large and fierce, both of which are hunted with their immense dogs. There are also laner falcons and sakers, with which the natives have good sport†.

Tholoman (Burmah) is subject to the Grand Khan. The people are tall and good looking, their complexions rather brown than fair. They are just in their dealings and brave in war. Many of their towns and castles are upon lofty mountains. They burn their dead. Abundance of gold is found here. They use porcelain shells for the small currency‡.

Ziamba, (by Cochin China,) is tributary to the Grand Khan. The king presents to his imperial majesty annually a very large quantity of lignum aloes, (highly esteemed as a perfume for baths and for incense at funerals), together with twenty of the *largest and handsomest elephants* to be found in his districts, which abound with those animals§.

The countries between China and Bengal, (Pegu, Siam, Tonquin, &c.), where there are abundance of elephants, rhinoceroses, and other beasts, were reduced to the power of the Grand Khan, and paid him tribute||.

* M. Polo, pp. 447, 449.
† M. Polo, p. 412.
‡ M. Polo, p. 457.
§ M. Polo, p. 583.
|| See Marco Polo, B. II. Chapters XLVI. XLVII. XLIX. and note 378.

In the reduction of Cochin China, the Grand Khan lost vast numbers of troops, by the effects of the climate*.

The Grand Khan lays claim to the whole island of Sumatra; Marco Polo visited six of the eight kingdoms in that island; some of which acknowledge the khan's authority. They have many wild elephants; rhinoceroses much inferior in size to the elephants, but their feet are similar, the hide resembles that of a buffalo, and they have a single horn; and goshawks black as ravens. They have certain small apes, in their faces like men, which they put in boxes and preserve with spices. They sell them to merchants, who carry them through the world, showing them for pigmies or little men. When ships pass by, the opportunity is taken to send to the Grand Khan hawks and other curious articles†".

CONQUEST OF MANJI.

While Li-Tsong had only the south provinces of China under his dominion; the western Tartars possessed the empire of the north. Their king, Kublai, was skilled in the sciences, and beloved by his subjects for the respect he showed to learned men, and the honour he did to the memory of Confucius. Li-Tsong dying without issue, (1264), was succeeded by Tu-Tsong, a profligate and infamous prince. His ministers seeing no remedy for the misfortunes which were ready to fall on the imperial family, retired to the western Tartars; whose army having overrun the provinces of Yunnan, Se-chuen and Shen-si, entered that of Hu-quang, and most of the cities opened their gates; while the wretched Tu-Tsong, drowned in pleasures, was stripped of A.D. 1280.

* See Grosier's Description of China, Vol I. p. 300.

† M. Polo. p. 603. And in Harris's Voyages, p. 620.

CHAP. II.

his dominions by degrees, without knowing any thing of the matter. He died in the year 1274, aged twenty-five, leaving three young children, who were born to be the sport of fortune. Kong-Tsong, his second son, was placed upon the tottering throne.

The empress, who governed the empire for her son, sent ambassadors to the Tartar sovereign, to demand peace; offering to submit to the most hard and abject terms. But that inexorable monarch replied: "Your family owes its rise to the monstrous infamy of the last prince of the preceding dynasty: it is therefore but just that the remaining princes of the family of Song, who are infants also, should give place to another family."

Meantime, Pe-Yen advanced with a numerous army of Tartars, subduing all before him. This general is highly praised, both for his prudence in conducting two hundred thousand men with so much facility; and for his modesty, which was so extraordinary, that, in the midst of all his victories, he never dropped the least word in his own praise. He took the emperor prisoner, who died in the desert of Kobi, or Shamo, and was succeeded in his empire and misfortunes by his brother, Twantsong, in the year 1276. The victorious march of the Tartar obliged this emperor to go on board of his fleet, with the lords of his court, and a body of one hundred and thirty thousand soldiers which remained with him, designing to retire to the province of Fo-Kyen; but, being closely pursued by the Tartars, both by sea and land, he was obliged to fly to the coast of Quan-Tong, the most southern province, where he died of a disease, aged eleven years, in 1278; and was succeeded by his brother Ti-ping.

The Chinese fleet, being overtaken by that of the Tartars, could not avoid an engagement, which was very bloody and decisive in favor of the Tartars. The prime minister, Lo-syew-se, to whose care the Emperor had been entrusted, seeing his ship surrounded by the Tartarian vessels, took the young prince, who was but eight years of age,

in his arms, and threw himself into the sea. The rest of the lords and ministers followed his example. The Empress, quite distracted, with dreadful shrieks, also flung herself into the ocean*. This terrible catastrophe happened near an island dependant on Quang-chu-fu (Canton).

Another general, who commanded a part of the Chinese fleet, having forced his way through the enemy, and escaped their fury with some of his vessels, endeavoured to make to shore, but was driven off by a violent storm which just then arose: and he and all his followers were sunk at once. It is affirmed, that above a hundred thousand Chinese perished in this fight, either by the sword or the water, into which vast numbers threw themselves, in despair. Thus ended the dynasty of the Song, and with it the dominion of the Chinese. Kublai took possession of his conquest, and was the first emperor of the dynasty called Ywen, under the name of Shi-tsu†.

The Grand Khan was excited, by the reports he heard of the wealth and greatness of Japan, to make the conquest of that country. An army of one hundred thousand men embarked at the ports of Kinsai and Zaitun; and reached the island. A storm arising, and the two commanders falling into dissention, the whole of the troops were lost in the waves, or made prisoners; only three or four returning‡. A.D. 1283.

Nayan, a near relation of the Grand Khan, proprietor of a considerable district in Leaotong, becoming very powerful, formed the design, in concert with Kaidu, a relation of both parties, of usurping the sovereignty. Kublai, on hearing this, collected the whole of the A.D. 1286.

* It is said, that the reigning empress of the Song dynasty was treated at Pekin with the greatest humanity, where she died, in the year 1281. See Marco Polo, B. II. Ch. LV.

† Du Halde, Vol I. p. 213.

‡ M. Polo, p. 569, and Du Halde, Vol. I. p. 215.

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troops stationed within ten days' march of Pekin: they consisted of three hundred and sixty thousand horse: and one hundred thousand foot, being principally his falconers and domestic servants. In twenty days they were all in readiness. Kaidu had promised to join Nayan, with one hundred thousand horse. Nayan's force consisted of four hundred thousand horse.

The Grand Khan proceeded with such celerity, that in twenty-five days, by forced marches day and night, he arrived near a range of hills, on the other side of which Nayan lay encamped, having no intelligence of the Khan's approach, the passes having been secured. The Emperor allowed his troops two days' rest. When, early in the morning they ascended the hills, they found Nayan negligently posted. He was asleep in his tent, accompanied by one of his wives. He now lamented that his junction with Kaidu had not been effected.

The Grand Khan took his station in a large wooden castle, borne upon the backs of four elephants*, whose bodies were protected with coverings of thick leather hardened by fire, over which were housings of cloth of gold. The castle contained many cross-bow men and archers; and on the top of it was hoisted the imperial standard, adorned with representations of the sun and moon.

A fierce and bloody conflict was for a long time undecided. At length Nayan, being nearly surrounded, attempted to escape, but was made prisoner and conducted to the Grand Khan, who gave orders for his being put to death. He was smothered between two carpets and shaken till the spirit had departed from his body, in order that the sun and air should not witness the shedding of imperial blood. Those

* It appears that it is an old custom in Persia, to use four elephants a-breast. "The senate decreed Gordian III. to represent him triumphing after the Persian mode, with chariots drawn with four elephants." Augustan Hist. Vol. II. page 65.

of the troops which survived, swore allegiance to Kublai. Nayan had undergone the ceremony of baptism, and a vast number of Christians were among the slain*. This battle was fought about half way between Pekin and Siberia. The Emperor, after the battle, retired to Shangtu.

Timur Kaan, grandson of Kublai, viceroy of Yunan, Bangalla, and the countries called India beyond the Ganges, was occupied with the great war against Kaidu, on the river Irtish†. A. D. 1289.

The Grand Khan failed in his attempts on Java. "Java," says Maundevile, "is nearly two thousand miles in circuit; the king is rich and mighty. He hath under him seven other isles about him. Spices are more plentiful here than in any other country; ginger, cloves, canelle, zedewalle, nutmegs, and mace; and know well, that the nutmegs bear the mace: for, as the nut of the hazel hath a husk, so it is with the nutmeg and mace. All things are in plenty, save wine. The palace is marvellous and rich; the chambers and halls are square, and the walls are covered with plates of gold and silver, with stories of battles of knights enleved, (the glossary says, this means *inlaid*, but perhaps it should be in *relief*;) the crowns and circles about their heads, are of precious stones and pearls. No one would believe the riches of the palace who had not seen it. And know well, that the king of this isle is so mighty, that he hath many times overcome the Great Khan of Cathay in battle, who is the greatest Emperor under the firmament; for they have often been at war, because the Great Khan would constrain him to hold his land of him; but the king hath at all times defended himself well against him‡.

* M. Polo, p. 268, where there is a description of the battle.

† For the invasion of Siberia, see Chap. V.

‡ Voyage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile, Knt. from the year 1322, to 1356. This account seems to decide, that it was Java, and not *Borneo*, as has

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A.D. 1294.

The Emperor Kublai died, aged eighty. He had four wives of the first rank, by whom he had twenty sons. Genghis, who was the eldest, and was to inherit the empire, having died, his son, Timur Kaan, succeeded to the vast dominions of his grandfather. Seven of the legitimate sons were placed at the head of extensive kingdoms and provinces. His Majesty had twenty-five sons by his concubines, all of whom were placed in the rank of nobles, and employed in the military profession.

The Empresses had separate courts. None of them fewer than three hundred female attendants of great beauty, with a multitude of ladies of the bed chamber; youths as pages, and other eunuchs; so that the number of persons attached to their respective courts, amounted to ten thousand.

His Majesty's concubines are from a province named Ungut*, distinguished for perfumes and the beauty of the inhabitants†. Every year four or five hundred of the handsomest young women are selected; and the khan makes choice of thirty or forty of those who are most perfect in symmetry of person, the most beautiful in features, hair, countenance, eyebrows, &c. The remainder are instructed in cookery, dress-making, and other suitable works. The Grand Khan

been supposed by Purchas and others, which Kublai and his successors attempted to conquer. Mr. Marsden inclines to think Marco Polo was not in error when he says, "the Grand Khan failed in his attempt on *Java*." See M. Polo, B. III. Ch. VII. Is not this strong proof of the correctness of Polo; and of the truth of some parts of the Englishman's book?

* Supposed to be Ighoors, or Yugures. M. Polo, note 527. See Sir William Jones, Vol. I. p. 53.

† Khoten is in these parts. "When thy charming letter was brought to me, I said, 'Is it the zephyr that breathes from the gardens, or is it the sky burning wood of aloes on the censer of the sun? or is it a caravan of musk coming from Khoten?'" From a Persian poet. Sir William Jones, Vol. V. p. 578. The Asiatics perfume their letters, and send them in bags of satin or damask.

bestows them in marriage on the nobility, with handsome portions. The fathers of these children feel gratified at the khan's condescending to make choice of their daughters for himself; or matching them more nobly than they themselves have the power to do *.

EXTENT AND GRANDEUR OF THE MONGOL EMPIRE.

The empire attained its greatest extent at about the period of the completion of the conquest of China, in 1280. There were under that division of the empire, governed by the Grand Khan and his viceroys, the whole of China—All India eastward of the *Burhampooter* †—Thibet—Tangut ‡—Mantchu Tartary—Corea—and all the eastern division of Siberia, to the Straits of Anian, (now Behring's), and to the Arctic Sea.

Seven sons of Kublai, and other viceroys governed, each, extensive regions. The account of the subordinate governments is extremely defective. Marco Polo was governor of Yan-gui, a large city, and its dependencies, for three years.

Kaidu, (now in rebellion), nephew of Kublai, possessed, as viceroy, the countries around Almaligh and the central regions of Siberia, to the Northern Ocean.

Sheibani, or his descendants, reigned at Sibir, over the western division of Siberia. Sheibani was the cousin of Kublai.

Capschac was governed by a descendant of Batou. This division

* M. Polo, B. II. Ch. IV. and V.

† See De Guines, Vol. I. p. 173, and Vol. IV. p. 193.

‡ Tangut and Thibet are supposed to be the same, by some authors: the exact geography of these immense regions is but imperfectly known even now.

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now contained the Crimea, the countries north of the Caspian and Lake Aral; northward, by the Volga, up to the Arctic Ocean; westward, to the Tanais or Don; Southward, to Caucasus: all Russia being tributary.

Zagatai's descendants reigned over Transoxiana or Maverulnere, the country of the Yugures or Igors, Cashgar, Badachshan, and Balk.

Abaca Khan, son of Hulacou, mounted the throne of Persia by order of his uncle the Grand Khan Kublai. Hulacou with three hundred thousand troops had taken Bagdat, and put an end to the Califs of the race of Abbas*. The territories under Abaca comprised Persia to the Indus, Syria, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Anatolia†.

The death of Kublai weakened rapidly the allegiance of these monarchs to his successors.

Hindostan was then too powerful to be subdued. Formidable attempts had been made, but had failed. While Hulacou was preparing an immense army, (with which he took Bagdat), he sent an ambassador to Delhi. The Emperor Balin sent out the vizier to give him a distinguished reception, with fifty thousand foreign cavalry, two hundred thousand infantry in arms, two thousand chain elephants of war, and three thousand carriages of combustibles, or fireworks‡. The

* When Bagdat fell to the great army of Hulacou, Mustasim Billah was calif. He had hoarded immense treasures: Hulacou ordered that he should be shut up in his treasury in the midst of his riches; and where, by an ironical refinement of cruelty, he was starved to death. Abul Ghazi, Vol. I. p. 185. The East India trade had enriched Bagdat, through Bussorah, which was founded by the Calif Omar, and became a place of trade hardly inferior to Alexandria. Robertson on India, p. 93.

† Petis de la Croix p. 402. See also Mezeray, A. D. 1249.

‡ This took place the year after Kublai became Grand Khan. Hulacou was his brother.

ambassador was conducted to the palace. The court was magnificent and gorgeous. All the omrahs, judges, priests, and great men, were present; besides five princes of Persian Irac, Chorassan, and Maverulnere, who had taken refuge from the arms of the Mongols*.

With the exceptions of Hindostan and Arabia, the continent of Asia and part of Europe were under the domination of the Grand Khan. "Kublai, says Gaubil, was now master of China, Pegu, Thibet, Great and Little Tartary, Turkestan, and the country of the Igours; Siam, Cochin China, Tonquin, and the Corea, paid him tribute. The princes of the blood of Genghis, who reigned in Muscovy, Assyria, Persia, Korassan, and Transoxiana, did nothing without his consent†".

"Kublai, at his coming to the crown of China, made no change in the ministers or in the laws and customs. He won his subjects so much by his sincere conduct, his equity, the protection he gave to men of letters, and by his tender affection for his people, that, even at present, the administration of this Tartar family is called *the wise government*‡.

The army and establishment of vessels for the conveyance of soldiers, were limited only by the necessity that required them. Ships with four masts were built so large as to employ a crew of two hundred and fifty men, and to carry stores and provisions for two years§. These were for a voyage to Persia. Five thousand vessels are sometimes seen in one port, from two hundred to five hundred tons burthen||. Kublai had an extraordinary passion to make himself known to foreign kings, to engage them to send him all kinds of rarities. In

* Dow's Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 190.
† Note 378 in Marco Polo.
‡ Du Halde, Vol. I. p. 215.
§ M. Polo, p. 29.
|| M. Polo, B. II. Ch. LXIII. and the notes from various authorities.

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September, 1286, advice was received from the Mandarins of Fokien, that ships from *ninety-nine foreign kingdoms* were arrived at Twen-chu-fu in that province. *These kingdoms are treated as tributary, but only eight are mentioned in history,* and under names unknown to Europeans. Those spoken of here are, Malacca, Sumatra, Pen-ko-la or Bengal, and from Cape Comorin to the Persian Gulf, Ceylon*, Tingor, Sanem-Soumenat†.

The current money of the Emperor is made of the bark of the mulberry tree, reduced to a pulp, made hard, black, and stamped. To counterfeit or refuse it is death. Foreigners receive it for their merchandise, and pay it for their purchases in the khan's empire. It is exchanged if worn or damaged; and bullion for manufactures is given for it at the mint. It may therefore be affirmed that no monarch has so extensive a command of treasure as the Grand Khan‡.

No Emperor or human being is equal to Kublai Khan, for the convenience and facility of his posting establishment: it is scarcely possible to describe it. Two hundred thousand horses and ten thousand buildings, with suitable furniture, are kept up. There are foot postmen at every three miles; so that fruit gathered at Pekin is received at Shangtu the evening of the next day; which by the ordinary mode would require ten days. The horsemen ride two hundred, and sometimes two hundred and fifty miles in a day, on rebellions or other urgent occasions§.

* Sender-naz, King of Ceylon, being reported to possess a ruby, brilliant beyond description, a span in length, and as thick as a man's arm; the Grand Khan Kublai sent ambassadors with a request that the king would yield him the ruby, for which the khan would pay the value of a city. The king's answer was, that, being a jewel handed down to him by his predecessors, he would not sell it for all the treasures in the universe. M. Polo, B. III. Ch. XIX. in note 1251, it is conjectured that it may have been a lump of coloured crystal.

† Modern Univ. Hist. Vol. II. p. 387. M. Polo, note 1206.

‡ M. Polo, p. 353.

§ M. Polo, B. II. Ch. XX. where there is a long description of the establishment.

In the month of January, 1290, Kublai sent mathematicians, (of which he had numbers from the west as well as those of China), to latitude 55° north and to 15° south, in Cochin China, to observe the latitudes of the principal cities in Tartary, China, Corea, and other places*. Many astronomical instruments were made on a large scale, and at immense cost: there was a gnomon of forty feet†.

Rare books were sought for in foreign countries; all good books that could be procured were translated into the Mongol language, and extensive libraries were formed‡.

When Kublai had overthrown Nayan, understanding that the Christians observed their yearly solemnity of Easter, he caused them all to come unto him, and bring the book of the four gospels, which he incensed often with great ceremonies, devoutly kissing it, and caused the barons to do the like. And this he observeth always at Christmas and Easter. The like he did in the chief feasts of the Saracens, Jews, and Idolaters; because, as he said—"Those four prophets were reverenced of all the world—Jesus, Mahomet, Moses, and Sagomambarlan§, the first Idol of the Pagans: and I, (saith he), do honour to them all, and pray him which is the greatest in Heaven and truest, to

		°	′	″
* In 1278	Co-cheou-king found the obliquity of the ecliptic to be	23	32	12
1290	Choja Nassir-oddin	23	30	0
1463	Ulug Beg, great grandson of Tamerlane	23	30	17
1525	Copernicus	23	28	24
1627	Kepler	23	30	30
1800	Mr. Pond, (Vid. Rees's Cyc. "Ecliptic")	23	27	56.5

† Hist. des Huns, Vol III. B. XVI.

‡ Modern Univ. Hist. Vol. II. p 390. With respect to the illiterateness of the Mongols themselves before their conquests, the curious reader is referred to Sir W. Jones's fifth discourse on the Tartars, in his first volume, page 51.

§ Polo, p. 274. Mr Marsden, note 512, supposes this to be one of the names of Budda, who is called also Fo and Somonacodom. Kublai sacrificed to Fo; and was attached to the Lamas of Tibet and the Bonzas of China; which drew on him the censures of the followers of Confucius.

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help me." Yet he had the best opinion of the Christian faith, because it contained nothing but goodness: and he would not suffer the Christians to carry before them the cross, on which so great a man as Christ was crucified *.

Kublai being informed that the barks which brought to court the tribute of the southern provinces, or carried on the trade of the empire by sea, often suffered shipwreck, he caused the great canal to be made; it is three hundred leagues in length. Above nine thousand imperial barks transport, with ease and at a small expense, the tribute of grain, stuffs, &c. which is annually paid to the Emperor. Had this been the only advantage this prince procured for China, he would have been worthy of the high praises which the Chinese give him †.

On the commencement of the year, which is the first of February, the Grand Khan and all his subjects clothe themselves in white. All the landholders send valuable presents of gold, silver, precious stones, and white cloth; great numbers of beautiful white horses are presented on this occasion. If the present be from a *province*, nine times nine of horses, gold, &c. are presented. Thus, at this festival, a hundred thousand horses are received. All the Grand Khan's elephants, of which he has five thousand, are exhibited in procession, covered with housings of cloth, fancifully and richly worked with gold and silk in figures of birds and beasts. Each of these supports, upon its shoulders, two coffers filled with vessels of plate and other apparatus for the use of the court. Then follows a train of camels laden with furniture. The whole passes in review before the Emperor. On this occasion a tamed lion is conducted into the presence of his Majesty, which is taught to lay itself down at his feet.

At Shangtu, or Cayandu, the khan hath an admirable summer pa-

* Purchas, Vol I. p. 417.

† Du Halde, Vol I. p. 215.

lace and a noble park, sixteen miles in circuit; where he rides about, and enjoys hunting and hawking. Small leopards are carried on horseback behind their keepers; and the Emperor, when he pleases, commands them to be slipped at stags, fallow-deer, or goats; which he gives to his hawks. There is here a beautiful grove of trees and a royal pavilion *.

POMP AND SPLENDOUR OF THE COURT.

"The Grand Khan hath many solemn feasts every year; at each of which there are great multitudes of people, well arrayed by thousands, hundreds, and tens.

First, there are four thousand barons, mighty and rich, to govern the feasts and serve the Emperor. They are held in halls and tents made of cloth-of-gold, and of tartaries full nobly. All the barons wear golden crowns richly adorned with precious stones and orient pearls; and are clothed in dresses of gold, so perfectly that no man can amend it, all dubbed with pearls and gems. These barons are divided into four companies; each thousand being dressed in one colour. The first thousand in gold and green, the second in gold and red, the third in purple, the fourth in yellow. They walk two and two full orderly, without saying a word, only by inclining towards the Emperor; each bearing a tablet of jasper, crystal, or ivory; preceded by minstrels, sounding their instruments of divers melody; thus passes each thou-

* Marco Polo, p. 250, and B. II. Ch XII. where these feasts are described. Sir John Maundevile's descriptions will be given in this Vol.—perhaps about forty years afterwards. Both Polo's and Maundevile's accounts are strongly corroborated by Grosier, (See his Hist. Vol. II. p. 106), who lived many years in China.

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sand. On one side of the Emperor's table sit the philosphers in astronomy, necromancy, geomancy, pyromancy, hydromancy, and augury. Every one hath before him golden astrolabes, spheres, skulls, vessels of gold full of gravel, sand, burning coals, water, oil or wine; and some, noble clocks. Then the officers order silence. Another saith, 'Every man do reverence to the Emperor, who is God's son, and sovereign lord of the world:' and they all bow down to the earth. When they rise, another saith—'Put your little finger in your ears.' Another saith:—'Put your hands before your mouth.' Another—'Put your hand upon your head.' I asked the meaning of all this, and one of the masters told me, they were the tokens of fidelity to the Emperor—that no one would betray him for gifts, nor keep secret any mischief intended him, though it were by his own father, brother, or son. The Emperor doth nothing without the counsel of the philosophers. Again the minstrels do their minstrelsy, with all the melody they can devise. Then all the lords of the imperial blood, richly apparelled, on white steeds, make their presents to the Emperor of white horses, each after the other. Then the barons present jewels and other things according to their means. Then the religious men and lawyers; each presents something. Then the most dignified prelate giveth his blessing and saith an orison. Then the minstrels do their craft. Afterwards they bring before the Emperor, lions, leopards and other beasts; eagles, vultures, fowls, fish, and serpents. The jugglers and enchanters follow. They make to appear in the air, to every one's seeing, the sun and the moon; they then make it quite dark, and afterwards a bright sunshine. Next appear the fairest damsels in the world, richly arrayed, who dance. Then others with milk of divers beasts in golden cups, which they hand to the lords and ladies. Then knights in arms joust full lustily and fiercely; and break their spears

and truncheons into splinters, which fly about the hall: they then hunt the hart and the boar with hounds running open mouthed.

This great Khan hath, altogether, a hundred and thirty thousand minstrels. They are nurtured by all the kings and lords under him; and this is the reason he hath so great a multitude. He hath certain men to keep the ostriches, ger-falcons, sparrow-hawks, gentil-falcons, and others; well-speaking popinjays, and singing birds. He hath wild beasts, such as tame and other elephants, baboons, apes, marmosets, and divers others; all of which are maintained by a hundred and fifty thousand keepers *.

He hath two hundred Christian physicians; and of Christian leeches, two hundred and ten, and twenty Saracen. His common household is without number.

The Khan's money is made of all values, of leather or paper, which is changed when much worn, and therefore he may expend outrageously. Of his gold and silver he maketh the ceilings, pillars, and floors of his palaces, and other things †."

" The Emperor dwells in summer at Saduz, towards the north, and cold enough; in winter, at Cambalech; but his chief residence is in Caydou or in Jong, where it is temperate.

When his Majesty removeth from one country to another, he goeth in the midst of four hosts innumerable; he keeping at a moderate distance. He wears a plain dress and has few attendants, that he may not easily be known. Or else he rides in a chariot with four wheels, upon which is a fair chamber of sweet smelling lignum aloes; which is within covered with plates of fine gold, dubbed with precious stones and

* Whatever the exact numbers were, they must have been immense, by the accounts of Shah-Rohk's ambassadors, Marco Polo and others so nearly agreeing.

† Sir John Maundevile, p. 278.

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great pearls. *The chariot is drawn by four elephants* and four great destreres, all white and covered with rich housings*. A few of the greatest lords ride about this chariot, full-richly and nobly arrayed. Above the chamber of the chariot, four or six ger-falcons are perched; which, when the Emperor sees any wild fowl, are let fly to amuse his Majesty with the sport. No one but those lords dares approach within bow-shot of the chariot.

Another chariot, ordained and arrayed in the same manner, goes on another side, at a distance, with the Empresses. The eldest son rides in another, just the same, on another road. No man would believe the multitude which follows, who had not seen it. Sometimes the Emperor sends for the Empresses and his children to accompany him, when the journey is to be short.

The Great Khan's empire is divided into twelve kingdoms; each principal king having other kings under him, all being obedient to the Great Khan.

The Emperor's despatches are conveyed by dromedaries and horses, from one post house to another, with great swiftness; the arriving courier's bells being heard, another is ready at the instant; they are clept *Chydido*, after their language.

When the Emperor passes through cities, every man maketh a fire before his door, strewing upon it sweet gums; and all people kneel down. Where there are Christians, as there are in many cities, they go before him in procession, with the cross and holy water, singing *Veni Creator, Spiritus*, with a high voice. He commandeth his

* A note says, Dextrarii. Dromedayrs. See Chenier's Morocco, Vol. I. p. 339, where it is said, that "Muley Ishmael had two snow-white dromedaries, which were daily washed with soap." In Siberia there are also white camels. Shaw's Zoology, Vol. II. P. II. p. 240.

lords to ride beside him, and that the religious men may approach. When they are nigh with the cross, then he doth a-down his galaothe, which he wears upon his head in the manner of a chaplet, made of gold and jewels, and prized at the value of a kingdom. Then he kneeleth to the cross. Then the prelate of the religious men saith before him certain orisons, and giveth him a blessing full devoutly. Then the prelate giveth him fruit, to the number of nine, in a silver platter, pears, apples, and other kinds, and he taketh one; and then they give to the lords. No one can approach the Emperor without observing the old law, that saith—*Nemo accedat in conspectu meo vacuus.* Then the Emperor desires the religious men to withdraw carefully, that they may meet with no hurt from the vast multitude of horses which follow. They then present fruit in the same manner to the Empresses and the eldest son, as they pass.

After the Empresses and the sons have returned to their separate households, with their hosts, there always remain with his Majesty fifty thousand men at horse, and two hundred thousand foot, without counting minstrels, and those who keep the wild beasts and birds.

Under the firmament is not a lord so mighty and so rich as the Great Khan, he surpasseth all earthly princes, wherefore it is great harm that he believeth not faithfully in God. No man is required to hold any law, other than he liketh. They call the God of nature Yroga, and offer him horses and beasts. They worship the sun and moon.

Every one hath his house, both man and woman, made round of staves, with a round window above for light and smoke; the walls and doors of wood; when they go to war, they take their houses upon chariots, and have multitudes of all manner of beasts except swine

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They hold it a great sin to smite a horse with the handle of a whip or with a bridle, to break one bone with another, or to slay children. * * * Whoever maketh water in his house shall surely be slain. * * * When they commit sin, they must be shriven of their priests; and pay a great sum of silver for their penance, and pass through fire. * * * If any man be taken in adultery or fornication, anon they slay him. * * * The men and women are all right good archers, both on foot and at speed on horseback. * * * The women make clothes, boots, houses, ploughs, chariots, and other things. The men make bows, arrows, and armour. The women wear breeches as well as the men. * * * They are all obedient to the Khan. * * * They fight not nor chide with one another. * * * There are no thefts nor robberies in the country. * * * They all worship each other, but do no reverence to strangers, except they be great princes. * * *

They eat hounds, lions, lyberdes, mares, foals, asses, rats, mice, and all beasts, great and small, except swine. * * * They eat little bread except at the court of great lords. They have generally neither peas, nor beans, nor potages, but make broth of flesh. Only the great lords have towels to wipe their hands. They live full wretchedly; and eat but once a day, and that even at courts. * * *

All their lust and imagination, is to put all lands under their subjection. When before a walled town, they promise to the besieged all they can ask; and when they yield, they slay them and souce their ears in vinegar, and, thereof, *thei maken gret servyse for lordes*†." "When I was there, the Emperor's name was Thiaut Khan, and his eldest son's Tossue‡; who when he becomes Emperor will add Khan; besides whom, the Emperor had twelve sons. He had three Empresses.

† Sir John Maundevile, p. 278 to 308.

‡ The Chinese History does not give the Tartar names. Shun-ti reigned from 1337 to 1369. Kublai's Chinese name was Shi-tsu. Du Halde.

The Tartars have made a city called Caydon, (Shangtu), it hath twelve gates, and is twenty miles round. Here is the residence of the Great Khan, whose palace is two miles in circuit, with many other palaces. In the garden of the royal palace there is a great hill, upon which there is another palace, the most fair and rich that any man may devise; and all about the palace and hill are many trees and divers fruits, and great and deep ditches, with wild geese, swans, and herons without number. The large garden is full of wild beasts, so that the Emperor can see them chased from his window.

The hall has twenty-four pillars of gold, and is lined with red sweet-smelling panther skins, of the most brilliant colour, and more valuable than gold. In the midst is a *Mountour* for the Great Khan, wrought of gold, pearls and gems, with serpents of gold at the four corners; all encircled by nets of silk and gold. The Emperor's throne is of fine precious stones, bordered with pearls, gold, and gems. The steps are of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the left is a lower jasper seat set with gems, for the Empress; another lower, similar, for the second wife; and a still lower for the third wife; for he always has three wives with him. On the right, on a seat below that of the Emperor, sits his eldest son and heir. The lords sit on the right, the court ladies on the left. The Emperor sits alone at a table made of crystal, lignum aloes, ivory, gold, amethysts, and other gems. The Empresses, the prince, and great lords, have each a separate table; every table worth a huge treasure. Under the Emperor's table are four secretaries to write his words, for he must never revoke them. At solemn feasts men bring before the Emperor great tables of gold, whereon are golden peacocks and other birds richly enamelled, which sing and clap their wings, whether by necromancy I wot not; but it is a fair sight to behold. In subtilty they pass all men under heaven. I tried to learn this craft, but the master told me he had made a vow to God, to teach it only to

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his son. There is a vine which spreads all about the hall, made all naturally in colours, with every kind of precious gem. All the drinking vessels are set with jewels and are all of gold; silver they make no price of except for pillars and pavements. The hall door is guarded by many barons all completely armed. My fellows and I, with our yeomen, served this Emperor as soldiers for fifteen months against the king of Mancy, having desire to see all his governance. We found it more rich and marvellous than we had heard of. He who will may believe me or not, for no man, nor I myself, till I saw it, would believe it*." (Marco Polo, p. 251, mentions that Kublai had a stud at Shangtu of ten thousand horses and mares, as white as snow).

* * * *

"The palace of the Grand Khan Kublai, near Pekin, is the most extensive that has ever been known: (this astonishing palace is described at great length): not far from the outside wall, which is a square of eight miles on each side, is an artificial mount of earth, full a hundred paces high, and a mile in circuit at the base: it is planted with the most beautiful ever-green trees; which, however large and heavy they may be, are dug up with the roots and earth about them, and are brought from the most distant countries upon the backs of elephants †.

* Sir John Maundevile, Ch. XX. to XXIII. The reader is referred to the embassy from Shah Rohk in Ch. IV. and to the accounts given by Bell and others, which confirm Maundevile and Marco Polo in most particulars; although an Emperor of China is, compared with a Grand Khan, a very insignificant personage. See also Grosier's descriptions, which are very similar.

† In 1720 the Emperor Kam-hi or Kang-hi, sixty-eight years of age, and in the sixtieth of his reign, gave a hunting entertainment in this park to Ismailof, the Russian ambassador from the Czar Peter. "We continued the sport till four o'clock, when we came to a high artificial mount, on the top of which were ten or

On the mount there is an ornamented pavilion entirely green. Within the park are various wild beasts, swans and other aquatic birds. To this place, which is called the Green Mountain, the Grand Khan often retires to treat of the affairs of the empire*."

twelve tents for the imperial family. The emperor from this viewed all the tents in the plain and a great way into the forest. After dinner the Emperor sent to compliment the ambassador and inform him, that he had kept three tigers, which should be baited, for his entertainment. The hill was surrounded by several ranks of guards armed with spears; and a guard was placed before the ambassador's and other tents, to secure the encampment from the fury of these fierce beasts. The first tiger was let out of his cage by a man upon a fleet horse, who opened the door by means of a rope. He rode off. The tiger came out, and delighted with his liberty began rolling himself upon the grass: he then rose, growled, and walked about. The Emperor fired bullets with his matchlock at him twice, with good aim, but he was too distant. His Majesty sent to the ambassador to try his gun: he walked towards the animal, accompanied by ten men armed with spears, and, at a convenient distance, shot the tiger dead. The second was let out in the same manner, and rolled upon the grass like the first. The man shot at him with a blunt arrow, to rouse him; when he furiously pursued the horseman, who narrowly escaped within the ranks; and the tiger, endeavouring to leap over the men's heads, was killed at the foot of the mount. The third, as soon as he was set at liberty, made towards the Emperor's tent, and was, in like manner, killed with the spears. The Emperor was, in his youth, fond of hunting these creatures in the woods of Tartary, but now confines himself within this forest, where there is game enough to gratify any sportsman: it is of great extent, and all enclosed within a high wall of brick: after travelling about as much as fifteen miles, I saw no end of it. Besides tigers, we saw panthers, leopards, linxes, boars, deer, hares, partridges, quails, pheasants, &c. We all formed a semicircle, in the centre of which was the Emperor, with eight or ten of his sons and grandsons on his left, and the ambassador on his right, about fifty paces distant. Close by him were the master of the chase with grey hounds, and the grand falconer with hawks: many of these beautiful birds were as white as doves, having one or two black feathers in their wings or tails. They are brought from Siberia, or places north of the river Amoor: they generally raked the pheasants while flying, but if they took to the reeds or bushes they soon caught them." (Bell, Ch. XI.)

* Marco Polo, B. II. Ch. VI. De Guines, Vol. III. p. 148.

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MAGNIFICENT HUNTING EXPEDITIONS.

When Kublai has resided the usual time in the metropolis, in March he proceeds, in a north-east direction, to within two days journey of the ocean*; attended by full ten thousand falconers, who carry a vast number of ger-falcons, peregrine falcons, and sakers, to pursue the game along the banks of the rivers. The falconers are divided into parties, and follow the game in various directions.

There are about ten thousand men to seek and mark the haunts of the game. Every bird belonging to the Emperor or the nobles, has a small silver label fastened to its leg, with the name of the owner engraved upon it. On account of the narrowness of the passes in some parts of the country where the Grand Khan pursues the chase, he is borne upon two elephants only; sometimes on a single one: but otherwise, he makes use of four, upon the backs of which is placed a pavilion of wood handsomely carved; the inside being lined with cloth of gold, and the outside covered with the skins of tigers: a mode of conveyance rendered necessary, in consequence of his Majesty being troubled with the gout.

In the pavilion there are always twelve of the best ger-falcons, and his Majesty has twelve of the officers of the court to bear him company.

* Kang-hi, in 1682, proceeded to Eastern Tartary, a thousand miles to the north-east, probably to near the same place. Sixty tigers, besides bears, stags, and hares, in vast numbers, were killed. He had his court with him, and more than seventy thousand persons in his retinue. Du Halde, Vol. II. p. 269.

When cranes or other birds are perceived, his Majesty orders the ger-falcons to be let fly; and, after a struggle, they overpower the game; which the Grand Khan, as he lies upon his couch, views with extreme satisfaction.

The tent of his Majesty is so large, that ten thousand soldiers might be drawn up under it, without incommoding the nobles in the halls and chambers, at the audience. Near to the Emperor's tent, are those of his ladies, who have their ger-falcons, hawks, birds, and beasts.—The outsides of the tents are covered with skins of tigers, joined so well as to keep out the wind and rain: within, they are lined with the richest ermines, sables, and other furs; the tent ropes are of silk. There are more than ten thousand tents for the Emperor's sons, the nobles, life guards, and the falconers. His Majesty takes his whole family and household, physicians, astronomers, &c. So great is the assemblage, that it is quite incredible; and a spectator might conceive himself to be in a populous city.

By the lakes, storks, swans, herons, and a variety of birds are taken. The excellence and extent of the sport is so great as not to be expressed: and the Emperor enjoys himself to a degree that no person, who is not an eye witness, can conceive.

No prince, or other person, is permitted to kill hares, roebucks, fallow deer, stags, or any beasts of that kind, for the six months from March to October.

The Emperor returns by the same road, continuing the sport during the whole journey*.

At the city of Changanor, or the white lake, the Khan has a palace which he is fond of visiting. There are there great numbers of pheasants and partridges; cranes of five sorts, the first as black as crows,

* Marco Polo, Book II. Ch. XVI.

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with long wings; the second white, the feathers of the wings full of eyes like the peacock's, of a gold colour, very bright, the head red and black, the neck black and white, and longer wings than the first; the third are the size of the Italian; the fourth small, streaked with red and azure; the fifth large, grey, with the head red and black. There is a valley near the city, which is much frequented by partridges and quails. The Grand Khan orders millet, panicum, and other grain, to be sown along the sides of the valley, every season, with strict commands, that no person shall dare to reap the seed. His Majesty always finds abundant sport in this country. In winter, when, in consequence of the severity of the cold, he does not reside there, camel loads of birds are sent to the court, wherever it may be*. At Pekin there is a market for *frozen* provisions.

The Grand Khan keeps leopards and lynxes†, for the chasing of deer; and also tigers for seizing boars, wild oxen and asses, bears, stags, and other beasts. The tigers are conveyed in cages placed upon cars, and a little dog is confined with them, with which they become familiarized, and their fury is thereby abated. They are led opposite the wind, in order that the game may not scent them. It is an admirable sight when the tiger is let loose in pursuit of the animal, to observe the savage eagerness and speed with which he overtakes it. His Majesty has eagles also, which are trained to stoop at wolves; they are of great size and strength: no wolf however large can escape their talons‡. Wild horses are taken by the Tartars, by the use of

* Marco Polo, p. 248. Some of the birds described are probably herons or storks. Note 461.

† The Emperor Akbar, on his hunting expeditions, was accompanied by a thousand of these animals. Ayeen Akbari, Vol. I. p. 240.

‡ M. Polo, p. 338, and note 638. The eagle the Tartars use, is the karakush, or *aquila mœvia*. Strahlenberg, p. 360

hawks trained to that purpose. They seize on the neck of the horse, beat him and tire him by his chafing, so that he becomes an easy prey to the master of the bird, who rides with his bow, arrow, and sword*.

The Emperor has in his service two brothers named Bayan and Mingan, who are masters of the chase; having charge of the hounds, fleet and slow, and of the mastiffs. Each of the brothers has under his orders ten thousand chasseurs; the ten thousand under one brother wearing a red uniform, and the others a sky blue, when on duty. The dogs of different descriptions which accompany them to the field are not fewer than five thousand. The one brother takes his ground to the right, and the other to the left of the Emperor. They advance in regular order, till they have enclosed a tract of country to the extent of a day's march. It is a beautiful and an exhilirating sight to watch the exertions of the huntsmen, and the sagacity of the dogs, when the Emperor is within the circle engaged in the sport, and they are seen pursuing the stags, bears, and other animals in every direction. The brothers are under an engagement to furnish the court *daily* for six months, from October to March, with a thousand head of game, quails being excepted†.

* * * *

FAILURE OF ATTEMPTS TO CONQUER HINDOSTAN.

The princes who had been overthrown by Genghis Khan, his sons and grandsons, sought refuge in Hindostan, which was under the Patan or Afghan Emperors. In the thirteenth century many attempts were made to subdue Hindostan, but they all failed.

* Purchas, Vol. I. p. 480. † M. Polo, B. II. Ch. XV.

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A.D. 1242. An army of Mongol Tartars made an incursion into Bengal by way of Chitta and Thibet. They were defeated and driven back by a large army*.

A.D. 1243. The Mongols crossed the Indus and invested Outch. Masaood IV. headed his troops and marched against them. They retreated.

A.D. 1265. The Emperor of Hindostan, Balin, was so famous for generosity, that all the princes vanquished by the Mongols, sought his protection: there came upwards of twenty of these unfortunate sovereigns from Turquestan, Maver-ul-nere, Chorassan, Persian Irac, Azerbijan, Persia Proper, Asia Minor, and Syria. They had a princely allowance, and palaces for their residence allotted them. Balin's court was extremely magnificent. In the retinue of these princes were the most famous men for learning, war, arts and sciences, that Asia produced. Philosophers, poets and divines formed a society every night in the house of the heir apparent to the empire. The horse-guards in the

* Chitta has not been found on any map. The writer's conjecture is, that this invasion may have been by the passes of Dellamcotta and Coos Behar; for we find that, in the year 1773, "the British troops and the Bootaners first met, and nothing could exceed their mutual surprize: (a disputed succession of a Rajah at Coos Behar, had caused one party to apply for support to the British; the other to the Bootan government). The Bootaners, who had never met any but naked and timid Hindoos, saw for the first time a body of men clothed, armed, moving in regular order, and led on by men of complexion, dress, and features, such as they had never beheld. The artillery, and incessant fire of the musketry, astonished them beyond any idea which they could have conceived. On the other hand, the British troops found themselves on a sudden engaged with a race of men unlike all their former opponents in India, uncouth in their appearance, and fierce in their assault, wrapped up in furs, and armed with bows and arrows, and other weapons peculiar to them. The place was carried, and many arms and other things taken; images in clay, in gold, in silver and in enamel were sent to Calcutta, all which appeared perfectly Tartar. The fame of our exploits in the war reached the court of Thibet, and awakened the attention of the Tayshoo Lama." Letter from John Stewart, Esq. F. R. S. to Sir John Pringle, Bt. P. R. S. Universal Magazine, June, 1778.

cavalcade of the Emperor consisted of a thousand noble Tartars, upon the finest Persian steeds, in splendid armour, with richly embroidered saddles, and bridles of silver. The state elephants were caparisoned in purple and gold; and the train was not less than a hundred thousand men.

The Moguls invade Hindostan with twenty thousand horse, but are repulsed from Lahore. A.D. 1283.

Another invasion is frustrated. A.D. 1286.

The King of Persia, in subordination to his cousin, Kublai, the Emperor of Tartary, invaded Hindostan with ten tomans (one hundred thousand) of Moguls. Ferose II. moved forward to oppose him. Both armies encamped for five days on the sides of a stream on the frontiers of Biram, and their advanced posts skirmished. On the sixth morning, they fought upon a plain. The Moguls were defeated, many chiefs killed, and a thousand men taken prisoners, besides two omrahs, and several officers of rank. The Emperor was afraid to pursue his victory, and offered them peace, on condition of evacuating his dominions. They gladly accepted the terms, and presents were exchanged. When they were retreating, Allagu, a grandson of Genghis, joined Ferose with three thousand men. They all became mussulmans, and their chief was honoured with one of Ferose's daughters in marriage. A.D. 1291.

Advices came to Delhi, that Dova, King of Maver-ul-nere, had sent an army of a hundred thousand Moguls to conquer Punjab, Moultan, and the provinces near the mouth of the Indus. Alla I. sent his brother Elich with a great force to expel them. The Moguls were defeated with the loss of twelve thousand men, and many great officers. Numbers of prisoners of all ranks were taken; and some days afterwards put to the sword, not sparing the women and children, who had been taken in the Mogul camp. A.D. 1296.

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A.D. 1298.

Cuttulich, the son of Dova, king of Maver-ul-nere, with two hundred thousand Mongols, proceeded towards Delhi without opposition. The whole country had crowded into that city. Alla I. marched out, at the Budaoon gate, with three hundred thousand horse, two thousand seven hundred elephants, and foot without number. With the choicest elephants a tremendous line was formed in front of Alla's army. Ziffer commanded the right wing, and, by his impetuous and judicious conduct, the Moguls were defeated. He was at one time surrounded; the enemy admired his extraordinary bravery, and called out to him to submit: he refused, and was cut to pieces with his friends who were around him. The Moguls retreated.

Alla esteemed the death of Ziffer a second victory, and expressed his satisfaction thereat: so great was his jealousy and so base his ingratitude.

* * * *

Many other invasions were repelled, till Tamerlane vanquished Mahmoud, in 1398; when most of the provinces declared themselves independent. In 1525, the Mogul, Baber, mounted the throne at Delhi; and thus ended the line of Patan, Afghan, or Ghiznian sovereigns†.

* * * *

A.D. 1369. There were nine Grand Khans, or Emperors, of the Mongol dynasty, on the throne of China. Shun-ti, the last, reigned thirty-five years. He was effeminate and indolent: his love of pleasure made him wholly neglect the affairs of state. He sent for the Lamas from Tartary; who introduced their idolatry: and, to indulge his vicious inclinations,

† See Dow's Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 179, &c.

placed a company of young female dancers in the palace, who entirely enervated the little courage that remained in him. By this conduct a rebellion was excited, and headed by a Chinese named Chu, who had been a servant in a monastery of Bonzas.

He gained many advantages over the Mongols. Shun-ti abandoned Pekin, on the 27th of August, 1369, with his family and his army: he was pursued and driven towards the north.

In two years, the last of the Ywen dynasty in China died of grief for the loss of his empire*.

* Du Halde, Vol. II. p. 217. De Guines. No particulars of the battles, or of the retreats, have been met with.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Employment of Elephants from the earliest times in China ——Persia——Turan——Scythia——Turquestan——Gazna ——Thibet——Assam; from which Countries they may have been introduced into Siberia.

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ALL these countries were subject to the Grand Khans, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

CHINA.

About eleven hundred years before the Christian era, the metropolis of the Emperor Vu Vang, was Singan, the capital of Shensi, the western Chinese province, and contiguous to the territories of Assam*. Both the country and the metropolis were called Chin. A king of this territory, which was gradually extended to the east and west, (and therefore comprised Assam, a region where elephants are exceedingly abundant; so much so, that most persons keep one to carry their wives, and one is buried in the tombs of the chiefs), makes a figure in the Shahnamah, among the allies of Afrasiab, mounted on a white elephant†. This is, possibly, the first mention, in history, of elephants being used in warfare in the neighbourhood of Siberia; it may be the same history as the following:

* Meer Jumla, in the reign of Aurungzeb, invaded Assam, to lat. 35°. Dow, Vol. III. p. 357.

† Du Halde, Vol. I. p. 158. Sir W. Jones, VII. Disc. Vol. I. p. 101.

"The joy of Afrasiab at these successes knew no bounds; he resolved on an attack of the main body of the Persians, which was commanded by Kai Khoosroo* and Roostum; who, on their part, adopted every means they could to repair their misfortune. Toos was released from his confinement; and sent, at the head of a fresh army, to meet Peeran-Wisa, with whom he had an action which lasted seven days; but, terminating unfavourably, he was forced to retreat to the mountains of Hamavi, where his force was surrounded and in great danger, until relieved by Roostum; who, after a number of single combats, in all of which he was successful, obtained a great victory and made prisoner the Emperor of China, one of Afrasiab's chief allies. This monarch is represented as riding on a *white elephant*. The Chinese army dispersed, and Roostum immediately marched in person after Afrasiab, who fled to his capital; the conquest of which was only retarded for a short time by the arrival of Pouladwund, the chief of Khoten, who fought with great valour, and discomfited several of the most renowned of the Persians; but was at last overthrown by Roostum. Afrasiab, destitute of all resource and support, fled from his territories; which were divided by Roostum among the leaders of the Persian army†. Before Alexander the Great, Transoxiana was inhabited by a nation known by the generic names of Getæ and Massagetæ. Afrasiab was probably monarch of these tribes ‡."

* * * *

* "Caikhosrau is, without fear of contradiction, the Cyrus of Xenophon, and the hero of the oldest political and moral romance." Sir W. Jones, Vol. I. p. 75. It is impossible to reconcile dates and events. Different histories agree in the facts. Sir William Jones, Vol. V. p. 591, supposes that Afrasiab may have been a common name for the kings of Asiatic Tartary.

† Cyrus replied—"My paternal kingdom reaches northward to those parts which are not habitable, through cold." Xen. Exp. of Cyr. p. 32.

‡ Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, Vol I. pp. 46 and 124. There having

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Among the Armenian nobles, there appeared, as an ally, Mamgo, who was a Scythian, and the horde which acknowledged his authority had encamped a very few years before on the skirts of *the Chinese empire*, (at the latter part of the third century), *which at that time extended as far as Sogdiana.* Mamgo, with his followers, having quarrelled with Tirdates, retired to the bank of the Oxus, and implored the protection of Sapor. The Emperor of China claimed the fugitive, and alleged the rights of sovereignty. Vou-ti, the first Emperor of the seventh dynasty, called Tsin, who then reigned in China, had political transactions with Fergana, a province of Sogdiana, and is said to have received a Roman embassy. In those ages, the Chinese kept a garrison at Cashgar; and one of their generals, about the time of Trajan, marched as far as the Caspian Sea†.

* * * *

In the seventh century before Christ, Ogus Khan, (whose residence in summer was about the mountains of Ulug-tag and Kitzig-tag, in Siberia, and in winter, at the foot of the mountains to the north of the river Sirr), conquered Kitai, Tangut, and a people between Kitai and the Indies, who are as black as Indians; and, drawing to the south, towards the sea coast, among the mountains, he was checked by a brave and warlike people‡. Cabul, Cashmere, and a great number of other countries, were subdued by Ogus, whose conquests were nearly as extensive as those of Genghis; and whose name is

been more than one monarch of the name of Afrasiab, and also of Rustoom, a great confusion and obscurity in the Persian, Indian, and Greek chronology, has been created, as will appear in this chapter.

† Gibbon, Chap. XIII. note 59.

‡ Abul Ghazi, Vol. I. p. 15. The black people correspond precisely with the

as familar in the east, as that of Cæsar in the west. Ulug-tag, the residence of Ogus, is between the sources of the rivers Tobol and Ischim, in Siberia†.

* * * *

In the year 221 B. C. that vastest monument of human labour, the Chinese wall, was built, to keep out the Tartars. * * * In the year 117 B. C. Vu-ti gained four great victories over the Tartars of the north west (of China), and drove them so far into their deserts that they durst not again appear for more than 1200 years. Vu-ti carried his victorious arms into the kingdoms of Pegu, Siam, Cambodia, and Bengal, he built several cities there, and divided those countries amongst the generals who had conquered them. These Chinese soon contracted the manners and inclinations of the Tartars, and proved in time the greatest enemies of their mother country‡.

* * * *

"The first civil country eastward is that of the Seres, (Soli, Cap.

Assamese. A note says, the others are, undoubtedly, the countries of Tunquin and Cochin China. But they are more probably Ava, Pegu, Aracan, &c. The brave and warlike people appear to be the Burmans and Peguans.

† There is much confusion about the period of Ogus. Strahlenberg, p. 46, supposes him to have flourished eighty years before the prophet Ezekiel, and that he might be the Madyas of Herodotus, who, in a great battle, gained the empire of Asia from the Medes. See Herodotus, Clio, Ch. CIV. See the Translator's Preface to Abul Ghazi; and Sir W. Jones's Fifth Discourse. The Persians are extremely ignorant of their early history; the probability is, that Ogus flourished in the seventh or eighth century before the Christian era.

‡ Du Halde, Vol. I. pp. 20, 172, 177. Vol. II. p. 255. This Bengal is probably the eastern or lesser Bangalla, a description of which will be found in the seventh Chapter of these Researches.

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LIII.) the quietest and mildest of men, fleeing the commerce of other nations, bartering yet with such as resort to them. None knoweth sacrifices, but every one is judge to himself of that which is right. They tell, that the commonwealth is governed by a council of five thousand, every one of whom findeth an elephant to the commonwealth. (Jo. Boem, Lib. II. Ch. 9. Strabo, Lib. XV.) The chief city, by Ptolemy, is placed in 177° 15′ and 38° 36′ *. This region he limiteth on the west with Scythia *extra Imaum;* on the east with *terra incognita,* and likewise on the north, (here some place the promontory Tabin, there the Eastern Ocean); on the south, with part of India *extra Gangem:* our silks have the name of this region. The Seres are supposed to inhabit the country now called Cathay, which name Niger deriveth from a Scythian nation called *Chatæ* †.

* * * *

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the Christian era, the Mongol Grand Khans who resided at Pekin, and the viceroys their relations in Shensi, Yunan, &c. possessed many thousands of elephants: those animals being a considerable part of the war establishment.—Since that period, elephants appear to have been kept for parade, hunting, and as beasts of burthen. "Ships, on the Kiang-keou, are drawn by elephants to Quinsay ‡."

* * * *

* It is well known, that a true knowledge of the longitudes has not very long been ascertained. Pekin is only 134° from Ferro.

† Purchas, Vol. I. p. 399.

‡ Vincent le Blanc, p. 103.

Emanuel Carvalius was at Cambalu, (Pekin), in the year 1598, when the Emperor had four hundred elephants, which were brought from Malacca and Pegu †.

* * * *

When Mr. Bell was at Pekin, he says ‡—" After dinner we saw the huge elephants richly caparisoned in gold and silver stuffs. Each had a driver. We stood about an hour admiring these sagacious animals, who, passing before us at equal distances, returned again behind the stables, and so on, round and round, till there seemed to be no end of the procession. The plot, however, was discovered by the features and dress of the riders: the chief keeper told us there were only sixty of them. The Emperor keeps them only for show, and makes no use of them, at least in these northern parts. Some of them knelt and made obeisance to us; others sucked up water from vessels, and spouted it through their trunks among the mob, or wherever the rider directed."

* * * *

" The Emperor's life guards were clothed in red calico, printed with red figures, and wore small hats with yellow feathers. They were armed with scymitars and lances. There were eight white saddle horses, for show. In the third court of state, were four extraordinarily large elephants, one of which was white. They were all covered with rich embroidered cloths, and their trappings, bridles, cruppers, &c. were ornamented with silver and gilt: on their backs was a

† Purchas, Vol. I. p. 46 2. ‡ Chap. IX.

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fine carved wooden castle, spacious enough for eight persons. Being got out of the court, I mounted one of the Emperor's waggons with two wheels, and was drawn to my apartment by an elephant. There were ten persons on each side, with a rope in their hands fastened to the elephant's mouth, to lead him; and, on his neck, sat a man with an iron hook to guide him. He went but his ordinary rate, which obliged the men to run, to keep up with him. In the Emperor's stables there were fourteen elephants: they made them roar, sing like a Canary bird, neigh, imitate a trumpet, go down on their knees, &c.—All these elephants were extraordinarily large, and the teeth of some a full fathom long. The Mandarines told me, that the king of Siam annually sends several by way of tribute†."

* * * *

Thus we find, that from the earliest history to the present times, the Chinese have always possessed numerous elephants; and that they have, from the beginning, had wars with the Tartars in and about Siberia.

PERSIA.

Persia had wars in very early times with Hindostan. Towards the close of the era of the royal dynasty of the Marajas, the first invasion of India by the Persians is placed. A prince of the blood royal of India, being disgusted with the reigning prince, fled to Persia, whose king was called Feredon: he espoused the cause of the prince, invaded Hindostan, and carried on a war with that empire for ten years. The

† Isbrant's Ides. Harris's Voy. Vol. II. p. 949.

Maraja ceded part of his dominions to the fugitive prince, who was his nephew. A *tribute was sent to the king of Persia,* and the empire of India seems ever after to depend in some measure on Persia. During this war the governors of Ceylon and of the Carnatic rebelled. The Persians threatened a second invasion, to prevent which all the provinces on the Indus were ceded to the king of Persia. When the Marajas family became extinct, Kesroraja mounted the throne of India, as near as can be computed, in the year 1429, before Christ. He solicited the aid of his lord paramount, the king of Persia. Kesroraja, assisted by Persian troops, subdued Ceylon and the Decan, he continued the tribute to Persia, and his dynasty reigned in the capital of Oud for two hundred and twenty years.

In 1209, B. C. Ferosra was on the Indian throne. He neglected war, and expended the revenues on devotees and enthusiasts, and in building religious temples. Nevertheless, Persia being invaded by the Tartars, he took that opportunity to recover the provinces on the Indus. It is said that the Punjab remained in possession of the Indian monarchs till the reign of Kei-kobad, king of Persia. In his time, Rustum Dista, king of Seistan, (Segistan), the Hercules of the East, invaded the northern provinces of India, and drove the last prince of the dynasty of Ferosra, to the mountains of Turhat, and from thence to the confines of Bengal and Orissa, where he died. Rustum raised to the throne, Suraja, a man of abilities, and restored the power of the empire, B. C. 1072. Kinoge was built by one of this family. The tribute continued to be paid to Persia.

In the eighth century before the Christian era, Sincol, a native of Kinoge, rebelled, defeated the imperial army, and mounted the throne. He rebuilt the capital of Bengal, Lucnouti or Goura, which became an amazingly magnificent city. Sincol refused to pay the tribute to Persia. Pieran, a Persian general, invaded India with fifty thousand

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horse: he was beaten by Sincol; and posted himself in a strong hold. From this place he sent letters to his king, Afrasiab, who reigned also over great part of Tartary; he was then on the borders of China. He came to battle with Sincol, and, with one hundred thousand horse, pursued him to Goura. Sincol retreated to the mountains. He thought it most prudent to beg peace and forgiveness: he therefore went to the camp, in the character of a suppliant, with a sword and a coffin carried before him, to shew that his life was at the king's disposal. Sincol was carried to Tartary, as a hostage for the obedience of his son Rohata, who was placed upon the throne of Hindostan. Sincol died B. C. 731. Rohata had sent to Persia one-third of his revenues, as tribute, and to support his father. Sincol's dynasty held the sceptre eighty-one years.

Maraja, a Rajaput chief, now succeeded to the empire. He was contemporary with Hystaspes, father of Darius, who mounted the Persian throne after the death of Smerdis, by the Hindoo chronology, B. C. 586; which agrees almost exactly with that established by Sir Isaac Newton. Maraja reigned forty years. Kedaraja, his nephew, succeeded him.

The mountaineers of Cabul and Candahar, now called Afghans or Patans, recovered all the provinces on the Indus. Jei-chund, the commander in chief of Kedaraja's armies, succeeded him. He reigned sixty years. Jei-chund punctually paid the Persian tribute. Delu, brother of Jei-chund, seized the throne from his nephew, Jei-chund's eldest son. He built the city which bears his name, Delhi. In the reign of Delu, Phoor, a prince of his own family, rebelled against the Emperor, marched to Kinoge, defeated his sovereign, and confined him in the fort of Rhotas. Phoor extended his power from sea to sea, and restored the empire to its pristine dignity. He died after a long reign, and left the empire to his son, Phoor II. who, in consequence of the

troubles in Persia, neglected to pay the tribute; he was the Porus vanquished by Alexander the Great†.

* * * *

The hero Roostum, in the battle in which he slew the king of Mazenderan, is said to have killed a number of elephants. We must conclude, from both the ancient history and the sculptures of Persia, that this animal once abounded in that kingdom. The province of Mazenderan is, from climate and abundance of vegetation, more favourable to their support than any other in the empire‡.

* * * *

The sides of the arch (at Tackt-i-Bostan) are covered with representations, in bas relief, of the boar hunt. Some are mounted on horses, and others on elephants. The ponderous elephants, with their riders, plunge through the marshy bushes in every direction. An upright compartment, on one side of the chase, is dedicated to the carrying of the spoil; and the division opposite, to a range of elephants in pursuit of the deer §.

* * * *

The army of Artaxerxes consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand horse, seven hundred elephants with towers filled with archers,

† See Dow's Hindostan, Introduction. The reader is requested to excuse some few repetitions, on the consideration of various histories confirming each other as to events; but to elucidate the periods of most of them appears hopeless, till Alexander's invasion of India.

‡ Sir John Malcolm's History, Vol. I. p. 35.

§ Sir R. K. Porter's Travels in Persia, Vol. II. p. 79, and plate LXIII.

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upon their backs; and one thousand eight hundred chariots armed with scythes†.

* * * *

Elephants are used all over the east, in the amusements of the chase; and hunting was always a royal sport in Persia. Alexander the Great, when he was there, killed a fierce lion, and was complimented by the Lacedemonian ambassadors. Philotas, son of Parmenio, had hunting nets that would enclose the space of a hundred furlongs‡.

* * * *

As to eagles, hawks, falcons, and other birds of prey, there is no country where they have more, or where they are better instructed, than in Persia. The Shah has eight hundred or a thousand of them; and there is no man of any figure, without his hawks and falconers. The hawks are taught not only to fly at birds, but at hares, deer, and all manner of wild beasts. By fixing themselves on the head of the animal, and beating him with their wings, he is so terrified and distracted, that the dogs and huntsmen, which follow, have very little difficulty in taking him§.

* * * *

We had a sight of prince Polagi's elephant, and were astonished at his monstrous bulk; he exceeded the height of any two men, and was much larger than any we saw at Ispahan, where there was a great number of them; he was governed by a little boy.

† Gibbon supposes this force much exaggerated by Alexander Severus.

‡ Plutarch.

§ Harris's Voy. Vol. II. p. 887.

* * * *

There were driven into the enclosure thirty-two wild asses, at which the king discharged some balls, and shot some arrows. He then permitted the ambassadors and lords to shoot at them. The beasts having sometimes ten, or more, arrows shot into their bodies, would fall a biting and running at one another in a strange manner. Having killed all that were wounded, thirty more wild asses were let in; which were killed and laid in a row before the king, to be sent to the court kitchen at Ispahan. The Persians highly esteem the flesh. On the 26th Nov. (1637), the king (Shah Sefi) returned from the hunting so drunk, as also were most of the lords, that they could hardly sit their horses †.

* * * *

At the great hunts of lions, leopards, tigers, panthers, ounces, boars, stags, hyænas, &c. they make use of the yourze, (hunting leopard). When they are too large to be carried behind the rider upon a horse, they are placed in an iron cage, and carried upon an elephant; and thence leap upon their prey ‡. The ordinary number of animals slaughtered is seven or eight hundred, but they relate that as many as fourteen thousand have been killed sometimes §.

† Ambassador's Travels, pp. 191, 212, 213.

‡ Such importance have the Persians always attached to these sports, that they record in their history, that—" Hushing, probably contemporary with Minos, and king of Persia, B. C. 865, was the first who bred dogs and leopards for hunting, and introduced the fashion of wearing the furs of wild beasts in winter." Sir William Jones, Vol. V. p. 588.

§ Voyage de Chardin, en Perse, Vol. II. p. 33.

* * * *

The envoy from Batavia made his public entry into Ispahan, preceded by six elephants, which the governor had sent to the king. A. D. 1717 †.

* * * *

The Khan (of Shamachie), desirous to let the ambassadors see how expert he was in shooting, bid them observe one of the lamps that stood near them, to see whether he struck it out with the first musket-shot, which he did twice following. On the 27th, he, being engaged in business, sent us his huntsmen, his hounds, and his hawks; as also a leopard, which, being excellently taught, started with as much swiftness as a greyhound, and gave us all the satisfaction which hunting could afford. He discovered no hare which he took not, and came on at the least call with more command than any setting dog, leaping up behind the person who had the ordering of him. Olearius, pp. 156, 162.

* * * *

Every day, at Delhi, were given combats of elephants, bulls, lions, and other wild beasts.

On the 26th of March, and following days, the commissaries secured treasures in precious jewels beyond conception: fifteen crores (a hundred and fifty millions) of rupees, horses, and elephants innumerable. Nadir apprised the king of Bokara, that, as that empire belonged to

† Bell of Antermony.

the descendants of Genghis Khan, he was resolved to secure its tranquillity, for which purpose he should visit it. He sent at this time fourteen chain elephants and other presents to the Emperor of Russia. The captured artillery and elephants were sent from Cabul to Herat.

At Meschihd, (A. D. 1740), an ambassador from India, presented to Nadir Shah, letters assigning certain revenues, and many chain elephants.

His Majesty sent to the Grand Seignior a throne of solid gold, ornamented with large pearls, and two chain elephants that had been taught, at the sound of instruments, to dance*. Nadir Shah brought three hundred elephants from Delhi to Persia †.

* * * *

The king of Persia's elephants are much larger than those exhibited in Europe: they were richly caparisoned, and mounted by Indians. Their bodies were painted with various colours, while their trunks, tails, and tusks, were guilded. A child makes them obey his orders, and they are trained to kneel in the manner of camels; to salute the king with their proboscis; to cry out; to shake their ears when they are ordered; in short, to raise themselves on their hind legs. A group of tumblers dexterously mounted the largest of the king's elephants, and the young rope dancer gave us new alarms, by making an extremely dangerous leap backwards from the crupper of the saddle ‡.

* Sir W. Jones's Works, Life of Nadir Shah, Vol. V.

† Universal Magazine, January, 1754.

‡ Tancoign's Journey into Persia, with the embassy of General Gardane, 1807.

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ORIGIN OF THE MODERN TURKS.

Butezena, the first leader of the Turks, A. D. 545, (whose residence was by the Altai, or Golden Mountains, near the river Irtish, in latitude 49 by the learned Chinese accounts,) married a Chinese princess. In the course of fifty years, the Turks made war upon the Persians, Chinese, and Romans; and their *conquests extended to the frozen ocean.* The Chinese bought off these conquerors by tribute. The Turks subdued the Ogars on the banks of the Til (Volga) and slew immense numbers. They made a treaty with Justinian, the Roman Emperor, who sent ambassadors to the Altai mountains. They were feasted in tents with embroidered silk hangings, the royal seat was of gold, and also the cups and vessels out of which they drank. A bed of massy gold was raised upon four golden peacocks. Silver statues, dishes and basons, of admirable workmanship, were ostentatiously piled up upon waggons. When Disabal had celebrated the obsequies of his father, he was saluted by the ambassadors, from Constantinople, of the Emperor Tiberius, who proposed an invasion of Persia. The Grand Khan answered them by putting his *ten* fingers to his mouth, " You Romans," said he, " speak with *as many* tongues of deceit and perjury. A Turk disdains a falsehood. You precipitate your allies into danger; you favour my fugitives, the Ogars. I know their route and am acquainted with the course of the Neister, the Danube, and the Hebrus. The most warlike nations, from the rising to the setting sun, have yielded to the Turks." Disabal sent ambassadors to the Emperor Maurice, styling himself lord of the seven climates, master of the seven races. The south boundary of the Turks was the Oxus *.

* See Gibbon's Roman Empire, Ch. XLII.

"CHAGANUS, the Scythian king, sent ambassadors to the Emperor Mauritius, (who died A. D. 602). He styled himself governor of seven nations. He conquered the Abdelæ, the Avares, and the Ogar nation, which dwell by the river Til or Volga. He conquered also the king of Colch, in which war he slew three hundred thousand people. He subdued also the Turks at the hill Icar, four hundred miles distant from the Golden Mountain, which is in the east, rich in fertility and store of cattle, and which the greatest Chagan among the Turks always possesseth. They call their priests Taisan, that is, the son of God. This city is divided by a stream; they say it was built by Alexander when he had overcome the Sogdians and Bactrians. The king's wives, shining with jewels, are carried in golden chariots, each drawn with one bull; the bridles embossed with gold. Fame attributeth another city, not far from hence, to Alexander, called Chubdan; the prince whereof being dead, his wives in black, with shaven heads, continually mourn, and may never forsake the sepulchre. They have *many elephants;* and traffic with the northern Indians, who make silk. Thus much I thought worth adding out of Simocatta, for better knowledge of the Turkish, Tartarian, and Scythian history †."

* * * *

"As I have pointed out the course of the Irtish till it reaches Tobolsk, says Mr. Bell, I will mention what I have heard from an ingenious gentleman, who fills a public place in Siberia, about the Kontaisha, or

† Purchas, Vol. I. p. 397, Chaganus is, no doubt, the Latinism for khan of khans.

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prince of the Kalmucs. His territories are bounded on the North by the Russian power, (see map, flag 23), by China on the east, and by the Great Mogul on the south. He is able to bring into the field, at a short warning, a hundred thousand horse-men, all able-bodied men, well mounted, and armed with bows and arrows, lances and sabres. They live in tents all the year, removing at their convenience. This is the most ancient and pleasant manner of life. It is entertaining to hear them commiserate those who are confined to one place of abode, and obliged to support themselves by labour. There are always some thousands encamped near the Kontaisha, who treat him with great veneration and respect. He is attentive to the interests of his people, and as assiduous in the administration of justice, as if they were his own children. A person may travel in his dominions with greater safety to his person and effects than in many other countries. The deputy from the governor of Siberia, with his servants, were admitted into the tent, where the Kontaisha sat with his queen and several children about him. He desired all of them to sit down, on carpets or mats. They were entertained with tea before dinner: and after it the Kontaisha dismissed the deputy in a friendly manner, telling him he would give him the answer to the governor's letter the next day, which he punctually performed. They write with brevity and perspicuity. I have seen some of their letters translated, which pleased me extremely: they use no tedious preambles or disgusting repetitions. The Kontaisha some time ago claimed and took possession of some towns on the Chinese frontier. The Emperor sent an army of three hundred thousand men, under the command of his fourteenth son, the best general of all his children. The Kontaisha defeated them in several actions, and peace was concluded. The Chinese had marched from the west of China through a desert and barren country, encumbered with artillery, and heavy carriages with provisions for the whole

army: by which their force was much diminished. On their approach within a few days march of the Kontaisha, he sent out detachments of light horse to set fire to the grass, lay waste the country, and distract them day and night with alarms. This is their ancient practice, by which they deprive their enemies of provisions, while they have always spare horses to kill and eat. This must be the same prince who is called the Great Cham of Tartary. As no Europeans travel through this country, our maps must be very erroneous." Journey to Pekin, 1720, Ch. II.

* * * *

*The following is particularly important, on account of proving that elephants will live in the severest cold. We also find that Timur did not lose any elephants, although "his troops were obliged to dig for water, two or three cubits through the ice; as, from the sun's entering Sagittarius to his coming out of Pisces, waggons, men, and beasts could pass any part either of the Gihon or the Sihon. Horses and men perished, some losing their hands, feet, ears, or noses *."*

The king of Cashgar met Mamood's army five farsangs from Balich, or Balc. Mamood strengthened his line with five hundred chain elephants. Some chosen squadrons, under the command of Elich, having thrown his centre into disorder, Mamood mounted an elephant and violently assaulted Elich. The elephant seized the standard bearer with his trunk, and tossed him aloft into the air. Mamood then pressed forward, and totally defeated the king. It was winter, and he pursued the enemy two days; though, on account of the inclemency of the season, the troops were hardly capable of motion. On the third night, a great storm of wind and snow overtook the Ghiz-

* Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 379.

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nian army in the desert. The troops were obliged to lie in the snow; and in the morning, some hundreds of men and horses were found to have perished with cold. A.D. 1007†.

* * * *

Mamood had a white elephant, and, when mounted upon that animal during an engagement, he esteemed it as a certain pledge of victory‡.

* * * *

Mamood, returning to Balich, gave the government of Herat to his son, Masaood. Hethen marched with a hundred and thirty thousand horse and foot, through the mountains behind Cashmere, by way of Thibet, to Kinoge.

The Indian prince submitted, and paid the plunder of the city, and fifty elephants. The Sultan proceeded to Mavin, on the Jumna, which surrendered. He found much spoil, and seventy elephants of war.

At Mutra, he captured five great idols of pure gold, and above one hundred of silver; and loaded a hundred camels with bullion. From the Raja Jundroy he took three hundred and fifty elephants, fifty-three thousand captives, jewels, pearls, and precious effects, which could not be properly estimated: nor was the private spoil less. Jundroy had an elephant of a most uncommon size, such as had never before been seen in Hindostan; nor was he more remarkable for his enormous bulk, than for his docility and courage. Mamood, having

† Dow, Vol. I. p. 46. No instance has been met with of an elephant being killed by the cold.

‡ D'Herbelot, Vol. II. p. 41.

heard much of this elephant, sent to the Raja, offering him advantageous terms of peace, and a great sum of money for this animal. But the obstinacy of Jundroy would never listen to any terms with the mussulmans; so that Mamood, with regret, was obliged to desist. The elephant, however, happened one night to break loose from his keepers, and went into the Ghiznian camp; where he permitted himself to be mounted and brought before the king; who received him with great joy, and named him "The Gift of God," because he came by accident into his hands. * * * The king, on his return to Ghisni, ordered a magnificent mosque of marble, of such beauty, as struck every beholder with astonishment and pleasure. It was adorned with such elegant carpets, chandeliers, and other ornaments, of silver and gold, that it became known by the name of "The Celestial Bride." Near this mosque, he founded an university, which he furnished with a vast collection of curious books, in various languages; and with natural and artificial curiosities. He appropriated a sufficient fund for the maintenance of the students, and learned men, who were appointed to instruct the youth in the sciences†.

* * * *

In the year 1024, Mamood marched to Balich with fifty-five thousand chosen horse, and thirteen hundred elephants, to expel Tiggi from the government of Maverulnere, for oppressing the people, who had complained to the king of his tyranny. Kudir, king of Turquestan, paid Mamood a visit, and was received with joy and friendship, with whom Mamood entered into a treaty; and the monarchs, on

† Dow's Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 59.

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taking leave, made an exchange of princely presents†. Tiggi fled, but was overtaken, and confined for life‡.

OF BOUTAN, A. D. 1659.

From Goruckpour to the foot of the high mountains, is eight or nine days journey; during which, the caravan suffers great hardships, the country being nothing but wide forests, full of wild elephants. Six leagues beyond Goruckpour, you enter Napaul: which territories extend to the frontiers of Boutan. The Raja resides at the city of Napaul, and he pays the Mogul every year an elephant for homage. It took the caravan eight days to cross the mountains of Naugrocot. Women came down, to carry the travellers upon a cushion fixed on their backs; three women to carry one man. The luggage and provisions are laden upon goats, which carry one hundred and fifty pounds weight each. After you have passed the mountains, you may travel to Boutan upon oxen, camels, horses, or palanquins. The men and women are clad, in summer, with fustian or hempen cloth, in winter with a thick cloth almost like felt. Had the natives of Boutan as much art as the Muscovites in killing the martin, they might vend great stores of those rich furs, considering what a number there is in that country. There are always fifty elephants kept about the king of Boutan's house; and twenty-five camels, each with a piece of artillery upon its back, which carries a half-pound ball. No king in the world is more feared, respected, and adored. They assured me, as a truth, that when his majesty has done the deeds of nature, they carefully collect the ordure, dry it, powder it, and carry it in a box like

† We may reasonably presume that elephants formed a part of these presents.

‡ Dow, Vol. I. p. 65.

snuff, to present to their friends, in small quantities, as a great rarity, to strew upon their meat. They have no one to fear but the Mogul; and from him they are fenced with high, steep, craggy and snowy mountains. Northward, nothing but vast forests and snow; East and West, nothing but bitter water; and as for the Rajas near them, they are princes of little force. In the year 1659, the Duke of Muscovy's ambassador passed through this country to the king of China*.

OF ASSAM.

In the year 1638, the Tartars of Assam invaded Bengal. They rushed down the Burhampooter in armed boats, to where it falls into the Ganges below Dacca. They plundered the northern districts, and took several small forts. Islam, governor of Bengal, defeated them, and killed four thousand; and captured five hundred of their armed vessels. Fifteen forts, and the king of Assam's son in law, fell into his hands. He reduced the province of Cochagi, and invaded that of Buldive. The latter was very obstinately defended. Few passes led into it, being environed with mountains. The Subadar at last forced the passes, and the enemy fled to the mountains. The sovereign of Buldive, harassed with fatigue and vexation, died. The unfortunate Assamites beheld, from their hills and woods, the smoke of their burning towns. But Islam having burnt the grain, inadvertently, the scarcity obliged him to retreat. He suffered incredible hardships by the badness of the roads and the torrents from the hills;

* Tavernier, P. II. B. III. Ch XV. At Chamnaning in Thibet, Lat. 30° 44′, Mr. Bogle, in 1774, found Fahrenheit's thermometer in his room 29 degrees below the freezing point. While Mr. B. was at that place, several Mongols and Calmucs arrived from Siberia, with whom the Tayshoo Lama conversed.

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besides which, the rainy season produced a distemper in the imperial army. Thibet was at the same time reduced by Ziffer. The news of this double conquest greatly pleased the Emperor, no Mahomedan prince in India having before ever penetrated into those countries†.

* * * *

Aurungzebe's general, Meer Jumla, invaded Assam, and brought from thence several iron cannons, and store of excellent powder, both made in that country. He landed his army in the 29th or 30th degree of latitude, having sailed up the mouth of the Ganges, that comes from Lake Chiamay, and burnt and sacked all wherever he came, to the 35th degree‡: there he understood that the king of Assam was in the field, with a more powerful army than he expected; he therefore retreated to the south-west, and besieged and plundered the city of Aroo, where are the tombs of their sovereigns. He found great wealth. They bury with their kings idols of gold and silver, *one elephant*§, twelve camels, six horses, many hounds. All his beloved wives, and the principal officers, poison themselves, to be buried with him. At Kenneroof, the king keeps his court. It is a rich and abundant country. All the natives live at their ease; every one has a house by himself; and in the middle of his ground a fountain, encompassed with trees; and, most commonly, *every one an elephant* to carry his wife‖.

† Dow's Hindostan, Vol. III. p. 162.

‡ A long account of this invasion is in Dow's Hist. Vol. III. p. 357. A. D. 1665.

§ Although there is no direct evidence that Assam was conquered by the Grand Khans, as the surrounding states were all reduced, it is not probable that Assam escaped the general fate. See M. Polo, note 887.

‖ Tavernier, Part II. B. III. Ch. XVII. See also Sir W. Jones's Supplement, Vol. I. p. 231.

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TIMUR BEC

(OR TAMERLANE)

From an Indian Portrait in the Poſsesſion of the Author.

CHAPTER IV.

Sketch of the life of Timur Bec, or Tamerlane.——His Battles in Siberia——Russia——Hindostan——Syria——Georgia——Asia Minor.——Elephants.——Extraordinary Splendour of his Court.——His Death.——Ruin of his Empire.——Embassy from his son, Shah Rohk, to the Emperor of China.——Origin of the Gypsies.

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April 9, A. D. 1336.

TIMUR Bec, or Tamerlane, was descended, in the female line, from Genghis Khan. He was born at Sebzar in the territory of Kesh, near Samarcand, in the year 1336.

The empire of Turquestan and Transoxiana was given by Genghis Khan to his son Zagatai: his descendant, Sultan Cazan, succeeded to the throne in 1332. He proved a cruel tyrant, and fell in the field of battle in 1346. Confederate chiefs placed other princes, successively, upon the throne; but, through dissentions among the chiefs, the whole country became a scene of anarchy and despair. During these troubles, Togluc Timur Khan, king of the Getes*, who was descended from Zagatai, resolved to make himself master of the country, to which, as hereditary Grand Khan, his birth gave him a just title; and he levied an army for that purpose.

A. D. 1359

Hadgi *Berlas*, (the name of a noble tribe) to whom and his ancestors

* Gete or Geta appears, throughout, to include Central and Western Siberia, as well as Cashgar. See Chap. V.

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the town of Kesh and its dependencies had always belonged, was the uncle of Timur. He was one of the confederate princes, and levied as many troops in the cities of Kesh and Carshi as he could, in order to assist in repelling the invasion; but, changing his resolution, he marched to Chorassan.

Timur's father, Tragai, had just paid the debt of nature; and his uncle, Hadgi Berlas, having fled, Timur conceived himself to be the only person who could put a stop to the insult, with which a foreign army threatened his unhappy country. He repaired to his uncle, represented the dangers that awaited them, and proposed going to the king of the Getes to offer his services, by which he hoped to avert the impending ruin. Hadgi Berlas embraced him, and, feeling persuaded that his nephew was inspired by Heaven, approved of his project.

Timur set out, and at Cuzar he met the conductor of the scouts of the king; to whom he behaved so handsomely that Hadgi Yesouri, which was the conductor's name, promised not to commit any hostilities before a conference was had with the three Mongol princes who had gone forward. Timur returned to Kesh, where the princes had arrived. They expressed great pleasure at his having submitted to the Grand Khan, and gave him the command of a toman (ten thousand) which was formerly under his ancestor Caratchar*. They also gave him the principality of Kesh, with all its dependencies. Peace was thus restored; and it was said of Timur, that at the sight of him alone sorrow was changed into joy.

Dissentions arising among the princes, they returned with all their troops to the king, who was at Tashkund.

Timur's person is described as tall and well formed, and that nature had set in his eyes such majesty, that men could scarcely endure

* On this subject see page 23 of Timur's Institutes.

to look on them. He wore his hair long, contrary to the Tartarian custom, pretending that his mother was of the race of Sampson*. He was grave and modest in his deportment, a strict observer of his word, and rigidly attached to the religion and law of Mahomet†.

Timur's country had begun to enjoy the benefits of his clemency and justice, when he heard that his uncle was on his return to Kesh, with hostile intentions. On which Timur, joined by prince Keser, marched, and at Akiar a bloody battle took place in favor of Timur; but, for some reason, not related, Timur's troops deserted him, and went over to his uncle; leaving with Timur only the prince Yakou. Keser, on this, also deserted Timur, entertaining jealousy and a bad opinion of him.

The Mongol Khan, king of Gete, again invaded Transoxiana with a great army; on his arrival at Cogende, Bayazid the prince of that place went to pay his respects. Hadgi Berlas followed his example. Bayazid being seized and put to death, Hadgi Berlas took the alarm, and fled to Kesh; whence he again advanced with some troops. The Khan sent the regiment of Cashmir in pursuit of Berlas, who was defeated; and, on his retreat to Chorassan, he was assassinated by robbers. Timur punished the assassins. A.D. 1360.

A prince of distinction, fine genius, and prudence, named Mir Hamed, who was in favour with the Khan, and the friend of Timur, procured his invitation to the court at Samarcand. Timur was received

* The portrait in this volume is from an *Indian* drawing in the possession of the writer. Timur was sixty-three years of age when at Delhi.

† See Purchas, Vol. I. p. 424, and the French Editor's Preface to Sherefeddin. The reader will bear in mind, throughout this life, that the lion's portrait is painted principally by his own artist. Sherefeddin, however, is not more partial than Timur's enemies, the Turks and Arabs, are false and abusive. His history is the most authentic of any. See Gibbon, Ch. LXV.

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graciously, and confirmed in the command of his troops, and in the sovereignty of Kesh.

The empire having submitted to the authority of Togluc Timur, the Grand Khan, he gave the government of the country to his son, Elias Coga Aglen; and appointed Bikidgek and other lords to attend the person of the prince. Timur Bec, on account of his wisdom, had in charge the principal administration of the affairs of state. Bikidgek, by his insolent conduct, and opposition to the commands of the Khan himself, caused Timur Bec to quit Samarcand. He went to seek the emir Hussein, and at last met him in the desert of Kivac. The two princes discovered that the governor of that district designed to seize them; on which they departed with only sixty men. Tekil, the governor, pursued them with a thousand horse, and overtook them. Timur and his friends defended themselves with such desperate vigour and heroism, that they killed or wounded all their assailants except fifty; by which their own party was reduced to seven. Hussein rushed full speed upon Tekil, and was surrounded, when Timur cut in amongst them, and Hussein disengaged himself. Tekil's party returned to the charge, and Hussein's horse, pierced with an arrow, fell under him. The princess, his wife, instantly dismounted and brought him her horse. Timur, with his sword in one hand and his bow in the other, was in a moment present, and shot Tekil in the face: he fell from his horse, and Timur transfixed him to the earth with a half-pike, which he had snatched from the ground. Thus ended the perfidy and ambition of Tekil.

Timur made Hussein remount his horse, and they re-entered the desert. Three of the seven soldiers left them. In this extremity, they agreed, for safety, to separate, that they might not be known. Timur went forward with his wife, Turcan Aga, sister of Hussein; and only one faithful servant. After they had passed the desert, they were sur-

rounded by a horde of Turcomans*. Timur, having had time to hide his wife in a pit, rushed on them; when one of them knew him, and instantly apologized. They feasted Timur, who next day presented them with a large ruby, and some embroidered armour of great value. The chief presented Timur with three horses, and gave him Sarag Coulangi to serve him as a guide. In this condition Timur went to join Emir Hussein, who had taken another road. After they met, they got off their horses, and passed twelve days at a place called Mahmoudi, in a desert. Here they were discovered, surprised, and led to Macan, where Ali Bei imprisoned them sixty-two days in a filthy dark chamber, full of vermin. Mehemed, the brother of Ali Bei, warned him of the imprudence of treating these lords with so much indignity; when he, reluctantly, gave them their liberty, a poor lean horse, and an old camel. The prince of Sandger, hearing of his friend Timur's distress, testified his sorrow, and sent him acceptable succours. Emir Hussein now departed towards Hirmen, and Timur to Kesh.

Timur and Hussein went to the assistance of the prince of Seistan: and having rendered him much service, on their return they met a great company of Seghzians, with whom they had a hot encounter; when Timur was dangerously wounded in the *hand, which was thereby lamed for life* †.

Timur had many other reverses and instances of success: when the A.D. 1362.

* Turcomans are said to be descended from the ancient inhabitants of Turkestan. See Abul Ghazi, Vol. II. p. 423.

† "And when I saw that the ruler of Seistan fulfilled not his engagements, I was without remedy; and I advanced towards them and gave them battle. And an arrow came and pierced my arm; and another arrow came upon my foot, but in the end I obtained the victory over them. And when I saw that the air and the water of that country suited not with me, I departed from thence, and I came back to Kurrumsur; and I sojourned in that land for two months, until my wounds were healed." Timur's Institutes, p. 49.

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Grand Khan died, and was succeeded by his son Elias Coja. Timur and Hussein, being joined by their friends, attacked the army of Elias and defeated it, taking the king and many princes prisoners. The king, assisted by some Turkish soldiers, who knew him, escaped to Gete.

A.D. 1364. Tamerlane takes Samarcand without resistance. Cabulchah Aglen, descended from Genghis, was elected Grand Khan. At the battle of the Sloughs, Tamerlane is defeated by the king of the Getes, who besieges Samarcand, but is repulsed.

The Emir Hussein and Tamerlane quarrel—the troops of the Emir are defeated—the king of the Getes marches to Tashkund.

A.D. 1367. The Emir and Tamerlane are reconciled and join their forces—Dissentions arise among the lords in the army of the Getes, and the army retreats.

A.D. 1369. Timur and the Emir Hussein were again at enmity; and in a great battle, the latter was killed; two of his sons were burnt and their ashes cast into the air *. Others fled into India, where they perished. Four of the princesses of his seraglio were taken into that of Timur. Hussein's treasures were seized, and his country of Badackshan subjected to Tamerlane; who was, now, aged thirty-four, crowned Emperor of Zagatai. According to custom, handfuls of gold and jewels were showered upon his head.

* "And there was relationship between me and Ameer Hossein; and although I treated him with kindness, he was not my friend; and he even took from me the country of Bullukh and the castle of Shaudumaun. And I also, for the sake of his sister, who was in my house, regarded it not. And I shewed such kindness unto him, that the Ameers, who were in a state of enmity with me, submitted to my authority. But Ameer Hossein still acted towards me with treachery and fraud, and sought to overthrow me: even until I resolved that I would force him to submission by the edge of the sword." "And by experience it was known to me that a wise enemy is preferable to a foolish friend." Timur's Institutes, p. 87 and 327.

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Timur returns from Balc to Samarcand, builds a castle and fortress, and makes it the capital of his empire: where vast numbers settled under his moderate and just government.

A. D. 1387. After many years passed in campaigns, at length, the kingdom of Carisme was reduced, and Timur returned to Samarcand. Excited by a fatherly love to his children, he gave orders for preparations for a nuptial feast. This great city was adorned with the most magnificent stuffs, and branched candlesticks, in the public streets. Spacious tents were prepared in the Baghi Behicht, or Garden of Paradise, and the ground was covered with the richest carpets, adorned with pearls and precious stones. The Mirzas, Mehemet Sultan, Pir Mehemet, and Shah Rohk, were married to princesses as beautiful as Houris. Mehemet Sultan was installed Grand Khan of Zagatai: and thus the crown of this vast empire was settled in Timur's family. The Emperor passed the winter with all possible felicity and contentment.

A. D. 1388. Tocatmich Khan*, whom Timur had placed upon the throne of Capchac, showed marks of ingratitude, insomuch that he levied a great army, composed of the troops of Russia, Circassia, Bulgaria, Capchac, Crim, Caffa, Ellan, Azac, Bachgorod, and Muscovy. Poets have compared this army to the leaves † of the thickest trees, or drops of rain in an impetuous storm. The Emperor no sooner heard of Tocatmich having taken the field, than he marched at the head of the troops of Samarcand and Kesh ‡. The winter was so cold that the men were almost frozen to death.

* Often spelt Toctamish, Touctummish.

† His legions * * *
Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
Of Valombrosa. * * * *Paradise Lost.* (See note, p. 119.)

‡ "For the private soldiers I ordained that on an expedition, every eighteen men should take one tent; and that each man should be supplied with two horses, a bow and quiver of arrows, with a sword, a saw, an axe, an awl; with thread, ten needles, and a leathern knapsack." Institutes, p. 295.

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Ilichmich Aglen, king of Carisme, who had fled to Tocatmich, commanded his army; and now arrived, and encamped at Ajouc Zernouc, near Cogende, on the Sihon.

Timur resolved to give him battle. The lords of his council fell on their knees, and besought him to wait till the troops of the provinces arrived: but, as he was not ignorant of the proverb, that delays are dangerous, and that we ought never to put off till to-morrow what we are able to do to-day, their remonstrance was useless.

Timur marched with the household troops. The snow was so deep that it touched the horses' bellies. Mirza Omar Cheik, with the troops of Andecan, joined him. A detachment was sent to fall on the enemy's rear, and prevent their flight. The next sun-rising discovered to them the army of the enemy. Nothing now was heard but the great cry, Siroun! the noise of kettle drums, the clashing of scimitars, the neighing of horses, and the shouts of the soldiers. The conflict was terrible and bloody. Timur was victorious. The enemy fled; and being intercepted by the detachment at the rear, and pursued by the army, they were surrounded; and no quarter being given, the slaughter was very great. The celebrated Airde Birdi, secretary of state, was taken prisoner, and instantly made himself known, to save his head. He was conducted to Timur; and, informing the Emperor of the state of Tocatmich, was pardoned and received into favour*.

A.D. 1389. In February, Timur decamped and marched to Samarcand. In the spring, Capchac was again invaded; but at the approach of Timur's army, the enemy fled, and were pursued to the deserts. The army encamped at Alcouchoun, a village in Capchac. The Emperor desiring to pursue the war against Tocatmish, the lords of his council humbly represented the better policy of first reducing the king of the

* The secretaries wrote in the Igurian character.

Getes. The Emperor, convinced by their reasoning, consented; and the army marched from Alcouchoun to invade the countries of Kezer Coja Aglen, king of the Getes and Mogulistan, and of prince Ancatoura*.

Timur, in the autumn, resolved to make war on Capchac; and set out to visit the tomb of Cheik Maslahet, both from a religious and political motive; in order to accomplish his designs. At Tashkund he lay dangerously sick for forty days. The great lords were seized with consternation; and prayers were offered to the Almighty. People feared that his sword would no longer be able to protect the weak, or keep the powerful within bounds: that houses would be plundered, and the cloisters, where true chastity is preserved, would be broken open. He was restored. He reviewed his army and put it in order. He distributed all the silver money that was in the treasury among the soldiers.

The 12th of Sefer, the sun being in the eighth degree of Aquarius, A.D. 1391. Timur departed. He sent away all the ladies except his favorite Sultaness Tchulpan Mulc Aga, daughter of Hadgi Bei, prince of the Getes, who in this journey had the honor of privately conversing with the Emperor. An ambassador arrived from Tocatmich, king of Capchac, with a present of nine horses of surprising swiftness. Timur accuses the king of ingratitude, and threatens vengeance, unless the king be sincere; in which case he must send Ali Bei, to treat with his great Emirs; when he will do what is consistent with his dignity and the present conjuncture.

The army marched forward, the horses were fatigued, and water was scarce; on the 9th of April, they encamped at Olouc Tac†. Timur

* For an account of this invasion of Siberia, see Chap. V.

† Or Ulug Tag. This must be the Steppe of Ishim. See Explanation of the Map, Flag, No. 1.

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ascended a mountain, and saw with admiration those vast plains, which, for their space and verdure, resembled the sea. He ordered a stone obelisk to be erected, and inscribed the day on which Timur, with his army, arrived there, as a lasting monument to posterity. They crossed the Ilanjouc, which runs into the Tic, and arrived at Anacargou.—They had marched four months from Tashkund, and had neither met a man, nor seen any cultivated land. Victuals were so dear, that a sheep sold for a hundred dinars copeghi*. Provisions were allotted with economy, and a general hunt ordered for two days; a variety of beasts and birds were chased. Timur slew a number of fawns, antelopes, and roebucks, till his dinner hour, which was two hours and a half before noon; and then returned to his tent. The soldiers then slew such vast numbers that they selected the fat, and left the lean animals: among them there was a sort of stags larger than buffaloes, of which they killed a great many. They had never seen the like before.

The hunting being finished, Timur was desirous to know the exact state of the troops. He ordered them to be placed by tomans, or ten thousands, and squadrons; and that every soldier should have his lance, war club, poignard, leathern buckler, his sabre on his left side, and a half sabre on his right; and that their horses should be covered with tiger skins†.

The Emperor then mounted his horse, clothed in his royal robes: upon his head was a golden crown, enriched with rubies; in his hand a mace of gold, the top of it shaped like an ox's head. He reviewed the left wing, which he found in good order: he passed before the first rank, which was composed of the toman of Birdi Bei. This general leaped off his horse, and took notice to Timur of the looks, stature,

* A dinar copeghi is above six shillings.

† The tiger skin being a mark of distinction, this must be understood as alluding to the officers only. Tigers' skins are much esteemed. Le Blanc, p. 159, says, they send from Samarcand to Casubi in Pegu to purchase them.

armour, and address, of his soldiers: he then fell on his knees and kissed the earth, and said—"Let all the world be obedient to Timur! Our heads and our lives shall always be ready to be sacrificed at the feet of the horse of his Majesty!" Timur answered, and applauded the Bei; wishing that, through the valour of this brave man, and those who are like him, the empire might continue always flourishing. The Emperor examined each company belonging to Birdi Bei's toman.—He then rode towards the toman of Codadad Husseini, and found their stature and equipment to his satisfaction. He testified his friendship for that commander, for the good order in which he saw his toman.

Cheik Timour, at the head of the hazares (corps of one thousand) of the hord of Selduz, came next in order of battle: these were armed with bows and arrows, scymitars, clubs, and nets to catch men. Then followed the large army of Omar Cheik, son of Timur, and prince of Andecan, whose ensigns were all displayed. This corps, being so numerous, detained the Emperor a long while. The prince congratulated his majesty on the extent of his conquests. The Emperor was lavish in the praise of his son, and said, "I pray God, that fortune be at your disposal, and that it may always give you the advantage over your enemies." Timur was overjoyed, and advanced to the tomans and squadrons of Mahmoud Khan, the Emir Soliman Shah, and Mehemed Sultan Behadur his grandson, and surveyed them with satisfaction. Two days, from morning till evening, were required for this review. The guards which made up the main body; were ranged in hazares and tomans, commanded by several emirs and great generals. Timur applauded their exact order; and all admired the good conduct of the invincible Timur*.

* It appears highly probable that Milton has taken Timur in some instances as his prototype for Satan. The allusions to Timur and Cyrus in the Paradise Lost, are numerous. I find in Purchas, Vol. I. p. 461. 3d Edit, "Alhacen Arabs

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The Emperor's son Mehemet, on his knees, asked the honour of commanding the scouts. Timur approved his zeal at so tender an age, reminded him that he had need of great presence of mind, a strong constitution and perfect activity, in an employ, on which the security of the army entirely depended†.

hath written a historie of Timur, now extant in English." This is, however, a book of very doubtful authority, as the author describes an invasion of China by Timur. In the king of France's Library, No. 1499, there was a general history of Asia, written by Bin Abdallatif of Casbin, in the Persian language, up to the year 1514, which had been translated by Monsieur Gomin, into Latin; and Thevenot, his uncle, had it printed; (this must mean N. M. Thevenot, keeper of the king's library. See life of Genghis, p. 413). Sherefeddin, whose work the writer has principally made use of, finished his life of Timur in 1423, and Bin Abdallatif, his countryman, no doubt, would copy from it; therefore Milton, at any rate, had the means of knowing from these sources the particulars of Timur's life. The translation by Petis de la Croix was published many years after Milton's death, which was in 1674. This Petis de la Croix (son of the author of the life of Genghis Khan,) was born in 1654, and his history of Timur was not finished till after the death of Colbert, in 1683. A better model than the *Destroying Prince*, as Timur has been called, could not be found.

" Ten thousand banners rise into the air
With orient colours waving: with them rose
A forest huge of spears; and thronging helms
Appear'd, and serried shields in thick array
Of depth immeasurable. * * * *
Advanc'd in view they stand, a horrid front
Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, * *
Awaiting what commands their mighty chief
Had to impose. He through the armed files
Darts his experienc'd eye, and soon traverse
The whole battalion views, their order due,
Their visages and stature. * * *
* * * * And now his heart
Distends with pride." *Paradise Lost.* Book I.

† ————————Here he had need
All circumspection, and we now no less

The prince, with some great emirs, departed on the 24th of April; and for two days, though they saw many fires, they met not with one person. A Turcoman, who knew those deserts, was sent out in another direction, and wandered without finding any one for some days; at length, ten men in armour were seen to enter a wood; they were pursued, some slain, and some brought to the Emperor.

Timur decamped, and on the 11th of May reached the river Tic, which runs into the Caspian; and on the 17th the river Yaik*. There were many encounters between some small corps which advanced, and superior numbers of the enemy; in one of which the emir Acoutmer distinguished himself so heroically in his fall, that his children were exempted from punishment for crimes, except they were committed nine times.

The army continuing to advance, had now arrived so far towards the pole, that the morning rays appeared in the east before the sun was entirely set. The king of Capchac still retreated, though there were daily skirmishes with the scouts, who always avoided fighting when they could; but sought to surprise those of Timur. The emir Omar Cheik was sent with twenty thousand horse to seek Tocatmish; on the morrow he came up with the scouts. Timur, being apprised of this, after six days bad weather, ranged his army in seven bodies, as if by inspiration from God, it not being usual. The princes and emirs wore coats of mail, or breast-plates of iron, and all of them polished helmets.

> Choice in our suffrage; for, on whom we send,
> The weight of all and our last hope relies."
>
> *Par. Lost*, B. II. 413.

* "I ordained that in the field, each of the twelve select emirs should, with twelve thousand horsemen completely armed, for the space of one day and one night, when marching and when halting, be ready upon guard." Institutes of Timur, p. 299.

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Tocatmish Khan's army was drawn up in a main body with two wings, and completely armed. All his chief commanders were of the imperial blood of Touschi, or of other illustrious Moguls. They ranged themselves in a half moon; and then came in view. The Capchac army outnumbered that of the Emperor.

Timur addressed himself to God by prayer. Having remounted his horse, all the army displayed their ensigns and standards, crying out, Alla Akbar! Souroon! At the sound of kettle drums and of the terrible trumpet, (Kerrenai)*, the battle commenced. Never before was there so great a confusion between heaven and earth†. Both sides began with half-pikes, swords, and iron clubs. Tocatmish's left wing withstood the attack bravely, but was entirely defeated. The right wing was overpowered. Timur had routed the main body; but Tocatmish traversed Timur's army with many squadrons, and resolved on maintaining his ground.

Timur, being informed of this, went after him; and at sight of the imperial standard, Tocatmish, in despair, fled. His generals followed his example; and in the pursuit, there was a terrible slaughter: for forty leagues, the plains were covered with the slain. Thus was the ingratitude of the king of Capchac punished. Timur dismounting, fell upon his face, and returned thanks to the King of kings‡. Seven

* The kerrenai, or great trumpet, was fifteen feet in length. P. de la Croix, p. 160.

† "All in a moment through the gloom were seen
Ten thousand banners rise into the air
With orient colours waving: * * *
Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds:
At which the universal host up sent
A shout that tore Hell's concave, and beyond
Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night." *Paradise Lost*, B. I.

‡ Timur, in his Institutes, says, page 121, "The design which I formed in defeating Toctumish Khan, was this: when my armies were weakened by a pur-

out of every ten cavalry, were dispatched to destroy the conquered; they pursued them to the Volga, and upon its islands, where they cut them to pieces, not being able to cross*. The women, children, and spoil captured, it would be difficult to enumerate. Three princes of the blood of Touschi sought refuge with Timur, who gave them letters patent to govern their hords, free of the tax called "Gan." Two of them afterwards revolted†.

Timur returned southward, and encamped on the plain Ourtoupa, on the bank of the Volga, remarkable for its verdure and pure air. His camp was three leagues on every side, and the imperial throne was fixed in his tent. All the camp and the pavilions were ornamented, and hung with curtains of brocade covered with gold flowers. Among the slaves were many beautiful girls; some were retained for the Emperor's seraglio: and five thousand of the finest youths, for

suit of five months in the Dusht of Kipchauk, famine and scarcity were very great in my army, even so that, for many days, my people lived on the flesh of the beasts of the forests, and on the eggs of the birds of the desert. And Toctumish Khan with an army more numerous than the ants and the locusts, came upon me, and opposed me face to face. And my people were an hungered, and the army of Toctumish Khan were full. And my chiefs and my ameers set not their hearts upon battle until my sons and grandsons came, and kneeled down and devoted their lives unto me: and at this time the standard bearer of Toctumish plotted secretly with me. And I found that it was good that I should assault the foe; and that when the two armies were engaged, the standard-bearer of Toctumish Khan should invert his standard. And when the flames of war and slaughter ascended high, I commanded that the tents should be pitched, and that they should prepare victuals. And at this time the standard of Toctumish Khan was inverted; and Toctumish, dismayed and confounded, gave the tribe of Touschi to the wind of desolation, and turned his back on the field of slaughter, and fled."

* The Russians perhaps know where this dreadful battle was fought.

† "And I uttered execrations upon them, because, unmindful of that which they owed to their lord, they had thrown aside their honour and their duty, and come in unto me; I said to myself, what fidelity have they observed to their liege lord? what fidelity will they shew unto me? Timur's Institutes," p. 175.

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posts in the household. The plain of Ourtoupa was the seat of the empire of Touschi*, son of the great Genghis.

A solemn and magnificent feast was prepared. Meats and liquors were served up in vessels of gold and jewels, by the hands of the most beautiful of the women. Timur's handsomest ladies attended him; and each lord had his own, with the cup in her hand, to accompany the voices and airs of the musicians. Songs of love and war were sung, and to the tune Rihava was performed Fatehnama Capchac, or the Triumph of Capchac. Twenty-six days were thus passed in pleasure by the whole army.

Timur returned to Samarcand, where he was received with great feastings and joy. He then crossed the Sihon, and encamped at

A.D. 1392. Tashkund, in the plain of Barsin; where the army from Capchac arrived after a campaign of eleven months. This vast plain was covered with the flocks and other prodigious booty. A share of the beautiful young prisoners of both sexes was given to the imperial family and the chief nobility. Mirza Pir Mehemet, son of Gehanghir, was appointed governor of the country, from Gazna, and Cabul, and Candahar, to the Indies.

A.D. 1393. May 25. The Emperor departed for a long campaign. When he was at Jouidez, near Bocara, he was much afflicted, having a disorder which he had concealed a long time. The Empresses, and his sons, and the best Turkish and Arabian physicians, arrived in the camp. The Alcoran was read. The finest horses in the Imperial stables were sacrificed, and presents sent to the tombs of the great Chieks. God, the only true physician, restored the Emperor to health; and he took horse and shewed himself to his people on the 20th June.

Timur, with a vast army, took Bagdat from the Mogul sovereign.

* Serai.

The Emperor remained there two months. In this expedition Timur rode twenty-seven leagues of three miles each, on the 10th October, without getting off his horse. The army suffered excessively from heat and thirst; all the wines in the city were seized, and cast into the Tigris.

Timur proceeded to Georgia, where he was joined by the Imperial family. On the 26th of Chawal the army arrived at Cars, in Georgia, where the Emperor encamped in a very agreeable plain with green meadows, springs, and rivulets of water as clear as crystal, shady groves, delicious fruit trees, variety of balsams and flowers, and zephyrs, so charming that they seemed to meet together to receive the greatest Emperor in the universe. Timur's troops had plundered all those of a different religion, who would not submit; his sole intention in this war being God's glory, and every day some considerable blessing was showered on him. At this happy place was born a son to Shah Rohk, at which the court and army were transported with joy. The physiognomy of the infant prognosticated the height of grandeur to which he should in time arrive, as his horoscope signified that he should ascend the throne, and be the heir of his father's crown. Timur testified his joy by presents of gold, silver, and curious stuffs. All the lords of the court spread gold and precious stones upon the child. Many great lords were elevated to considerable posts, and delivered the poor from their miseries; and the people were exempted from taxes for a whole year. The skilful astrologer, Moulla Abdallah Lessan predicted that the crown would for ever remain in the family of this infant, who would be endowed with many virtues: and, that he might have for his patron that prophet who was God's chief favorite, the Emperor ordered him to be called Ibrahim * Sultan. Sept. 9.

* Abraham.

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Next day at sun-rise Timur decamped, and the tents were pitched in the plain of Minecgheul, where he received news of the great success of the emirs, who had taken many strong places from the Christians, and were on their return. The Emperor gave orders for solemn rejoicings for the birth of his grandchild. They provided tents and canopies, which they adorned with the most magnificent furniture of all Asia. These tents took up two leagues of ground: that for the Emperor was under a canopy supported by forty pillars, and was as spacious as a palace; in the middle of it was a throne so ornamented with precious stones, that it resembled the sun. A great number of the most beautiful ladies of Asia were placed on each side of the throne, with veils of cloth of gold adorned with jewels. At length the Emperor ascended and seated himself, with the sceptre in his hand, and the crown upon his head *. The music was placed in two rows; the vocal on the right, the instrumental on the left. Nine chaoux, of handsome mien, well equipped, and mounted on Arabian horses, came there in quality of stewards of the feast; having dismounted, they took golden wands in their hands, and marched in procession before the dishes which were served up. They were followed by cup-bearers, who were provided with crystal bottles and golden cups with red wine of Shiraz, white of Mazanderan, and water as clear as that of Kiosser's † fountain. The conversation of charming women, whose hair hung in tresses down to the ground, added to the

* "High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
Satan exalted sat, by merit rais'd
To that bad eminence." *Paradise Lost*, B. II.

† A fountain in Mahomet's paradise.

lustre of this illustrious assembly. The mirzas, emirs, nevians and foreign lords of Iran and Touran, from India unto Greece, partook of the diversions, and joined with the Zagataians, in vows for the prosperity of the Emperor and the new born prince. Then Timur chose the princess Touman Aga, who was as wise as Balkis*, and as illustrious as Cadafa†, to be governess to the young Mirza, for which honour she made a magnificent banquet, which lasted eight days. For his governor, Timur appointed the Emir Osman Abbas, whose wife, Sadekin Aga, a relation of the Emperor, was selected to be his nurse.

These entertainments, which had lasted three weeks, being over, Timur went and encamped upon the top of a mountain. The empresses, princesses, and all the court ladies, departed for Sultania, where they were to stay.

Shah Rohk being appointed governor of Samarcand, Timur affectionately embraced him at his departure. On his reaching the Oxus, the inhabitants in great numbers met their illustrious viceroy; and on his entry into Samarcand, from the gate Aferine to the royal palace, the streets were hung with carpets, and the ground was covered with satin, and scarlet cloth. The happy people thanked God for giving them a prince under whom the weak might live as securely as the powerful. Oct. 8.

Timur's zeal for religion made him undertake the war in Georgia himself. By the assistance of heaven, (says Sherefeddin), he vanquished all the Christians who resisted, whether in the plains or in the strong castles upon the mountains, pillaging the country and putting to the sword all who resisted. Timur marched before Teflis and encamped in the plain of Cheki.

* Solomon's wife.

† Queen of the Amazons: the Thalestris of Quintus Curtius.

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News was brought to the Emperor of Toctamish having re-established himself in Capchac, and made irruptions into Timur's dominions, to recover the losses of his great defeat. Timur invades Russia*.

A.D. 1395.

Mahmoudi, Timur's governor of Hadgi Tercan (Astrachan), proved faithless to his trust. Notwithstanding the severity of the winter this year, Timur marched to that place. Hadgi Tercan is defended in winter by a wall built of ice, upon which they pour water, which freezes, and the solid rampart is then as good as one of brick: there are gates constructed to enter the town. The governor was obliged to go out to meet the Emperor. Timur sent the governor to Serai, under the conduct of Mirza Pir Mehemet; where, according to orders received, he was thrust under the ice of the Volga. His Majesty ordered the inhabitants, the cattle, and all within Astrachan, to be expelled: when the town was razed.

The troops of Capchac had ruined the palace of Sultan Cazan Khan, near Carchi, in Transoxiana; to revenge which, Timur proceeded to Serai, the capital of Capchac; ordered out the inhabitants, and reduced it to ashes. The severity of the winter produced famine in the camp, and most of the horses perished. All the countries to the west and north of the Caspian Sea, were brought under the dominion of Timur.

A.D. 1396.

The towns and provinces of Oukec, Madgiar, Little Russia, Circassia, Bachgorod, Azac, Couban, and Alan (between Georgia and the Black Sea) had been sacked; and the princes had given assurance of future obedience.

The Emperor now marched towards Uchendge, north-east of Tef-

* See note on Russia, Ch V. with a full description of a famous battle in which Timur was in the greatest danger of being killed or taken.

lis, to attack the Christians there, and besieged it. Uchendge fell.—The garrison was put to the sword, their bodies piled up, and the country ravaged. Timur pardoned those great men who had joined the Christians and now acknowledged their fault; exhorting them to make war, and procure all the advantages which can be expected to the mussulman religion.

Timur returned to Samarcand. The empresses showered upon his head gold and jewels, and presented him with a thousand horses, caparisoned with bridles and harness of gold and precious stones; and also a thousand mules, all of one colour. The Emperor was received in triumph; the city was adorned magnificently; and the streets were covered with velvet, satin, silks, and carpets; which the horses trampled upon as a road. The Emperor then visited the tombs of the saints, and of learned and illustrious persons; he gave great largesses to the santons, who took care of them; and alms to the poor. He distributed his booty. He sat in justice, and ordered some tyrants to be put in chains, and the forked branch to be hung round their necks. Some were put to death. All the people were pleased with their Emperor's equity; and stiled his reign—"The Golden Age." July 30.

The magnificent palace of Baghi Chemal, or Garden of the North, was now built. Mirza Shah Rohk, Timur's eldest son, was appointed king of Khorassan. Ambassadors from China arrived with abundance of curious presents, and were introduced by the great emirs.—After delivering their credentials, and explaining the subject of their embassy, they returned home. A.D. 1397.

Timur received information of the commotions in India; and that, since the death of Firoze III. the nobles had seized the power of that state; and that, in the name of the young Mamood, two generals divided the government, one at Delhi, and the other at Moultan. The Em-

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1398.

peror resolved on the conquest of Hindostan*, having already, in order to root out the infidels of China, collected the troops of the empire. The Emperor had, in his army, officers and soldiers of all nations; but the commands of the greatest consequence were held by Tartars.

The army marched forward, and crossed the Oxus, to destroy the Guebres of India. The Alcoran says—"The highest dignity man can attain, is that of making war, in person, against the enemies of his religion." Though the true faith was written upon the coins of India, the greatest part of the inhabitants were idolaters.

* "My design for reducing the empire of Hindostan was this: First, to discover the thoughts of my sons and my ameers, I demanded counsel of them. The prince, Peer Mahummud Jehangheer said—'Behold, with the gold of Hind, we shall become the conquerors of the world.' And prince Mahummud Sooltaun spoke and said—'We may subdue Hind; yet it hath many ramparts, rivers, wildernesses, and forests; soldiers clad in armour; and the elephants, destroyers of men.' The prince Shah Rohk said—'I have read in the Toorki annals that there are five mighty kings, whom, because of their greatness, they mention not by their names. For behold they call the King of Hind, Daurau; and the King of Room, they call Keesur; and the King of Khuttun, and Cheen, and Maucheen, they stile Fughfoor; and they call the King of Toorkistaun, Khaukaun; and they call the Lord of Eraun and Tooraun, King of Kings. And lo! the power of the King of Kings hath in all times been over the empire of Hindostan, and it behoveth us, also, to conquer Hindostan.' The ameers said—'We may subdue Hind, but if we tarry in that land, our posterity will degenerate from the vigour of their forefathers.' And I had resolved, and was loth to desist, and I answered them, saying,—'I will turn to Almighty God, and I will seek the sign of war in the Koraun, that whatever be the will of God, that I may do.' And they all consented thereto. And when I sought an omen in the holy book, this sacred verse came forth,—'*O Prophet! fight with the infidels and unbelievers.*' And when the doctors of the law explained the verse to the ameers, they hung down their heads and were silent. And my heart was grieved at their silence. And I deliberated with myself if I should throw them down from their commands. But, since I myself had exalted them, I treated them with kindness; and although they had angered me, yet, as they were unanimous at last, I regarded it not." Timur's Institutes, p. 131.

Timur and his troops suffered, in the mountains of Badachshan, from cold, rocky passes, and independent tribes, with whom there was much fighting. The Emperor was let down the side of a steep mountain on a platform, by ropes a hundred and fifty cubits long. Timur encamped near Cabul, and ordered a canal to be dug, five leagues in length.

Two princes from Capchac, and one from Gete, arrived in the camp, to assure Timur that, for the future, he might depend on their obedience.

Taizi Aglen, who had differences with the Khan of Olugyourt, fled from the kingdom of Calmac, to lay himself at the Emperor's feet.—Timur embraced him, and presented him with a vest woven with gold, a belt with precious stones, camels, pavilions, &c.

Cheik Noureddin also arrived, who had been left by Timur in Persia, to receive the revenues. He brought an immense treasure in jewels, gold coin, gold stuffs, belts of precious stones, Arabian horses with golden saddles, camels, mules, pavilions, curtains of scarlet, leopards, birds of prey, and other animals for the chace. So great a quantity was there, that the comptrollers of the divan were three days and nights employed in registering the whole of it. Several princes of the race of Genghis were astonished at the sight of such wealth.

The ambassadors were now dismissed with rich presents. The left wing was sent forward to India. The Emperor marched and encamped at Irjab*.

Timur being on horseback, accompanied by his generals on foot, while he was viewing the place, was shot at with an arrow from a win-

* "And behold the whole of my army was ninety-two thousand horsemen, according to the number of the names of Mahummud, the prophet of God; and I took this number as a fortunate and happy omen." Timur's Inst. p. 135.

CHAP. IV.

dow, which missed him: but the whizzing of the arrow startled his horse. The assassins were taken and put to death. The prince of the town, who had been a great tyrant, was beheaded, and his goods and moveables were given to the poor.

Oct. 7. His Majesty arrived at the Indus, at the spot whence Gelaleddin had fled from the wrath of Genghis Khan*. A bridge of boats and reeds was finished in two days. Timur dismissed the ambassadors of Mecca, Medina, and the cheriffs of Arabia. Eskender Shah, prince of Cashmere, sent to beseech his majesty to receive him on his obedience. Timur desired that he would come to his camp, when at Dibalpour.

Oct. 11. The Emperor crossed the Indus and encamped at the entrance of the desert Gerou, called Tchol Gelali (from Gelaleddin). The rajas and others offered their submission with promises of money. As they had been very serviceable to the detachment at Moultan, they were treated with kindness. An isle in the river Jamad was attacked; a toman conquered it, after hard fighting.

The army marched to where the Jamad and Genave join in one stream, all the troops were employed in making a bridge over it, which was never done before. The army crossed and encamped thirty-five

Oct. 29. miles from Moultan†. Camp at Toulonba: The inhabitants (the cheriffs excepted) taxed at two millions of crowns. Part is paid; the natives revolt; two thousand are slain.

Nov. 5. Camp at Chanavaz, near a lake.

The Mirza at Moultan had lost nearly all his horse by the inundations and a famine. Succours are sent to him by Timur. Bend and Batnir taken, and the inhabitants slain.

* Attock.

† Major Rennel has accurately traced Timur's march (Memoir, p. 84). The above is Sherefeddin's description.

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The army arrived at Paniput. The inhabitants fled. There was found here one hundred and sixty thousand maunds, common weight, of wheat. The army arrived near to Delhi. While Timur was surveying the magnificent palace of Gehannumai, he discovered nine thousand of the enemy and twenty-seven elephants. They were attacked, and fled; one elephant fell. Nov. 21. Nov. 28.

The army encamped, and was harangued by the Emperor. Some generals represented, that a hundred thousand prisoners, idolaters, were in the camp; who, in case of a battle, might join the enemy; they having been greatly pleased when they saw the troops with the twenty-seven elephants approach. Timur reflected seriously on this; and ordered that all those who had made slaves, should put them to death; or, who disobeyed, should himself suffer death, and his family be given to the informer. In one terrible hour, according to the smallest computation, a hundred thousand Indians were massacred.—Even the venerable and humane Moulava Nassereddin Amor, was constrained to order fifteen slaves to be slain.

A tenth part of the army guarded the women, children, and camels. Timur crossed the river, encamped the army, and surrounded it with a rampart of bucklers and a ditch. Great buffaloes were tied together by the neck and feet, with brambles upon their heads, to be set fire to on occasion should the elephants approach; but this was not needed. Timur drew up his army in order of battle. He commanded the main body: they marched. The enemy advanced in order, the centre was commanded by Mahmoud, grandson of the late Emperor Ferose, and his lieutenant-general, Mellou Khan. His force consisted of ten thousand horse, forty thousand foot, and elephants armed with cuirasses and poisoned daggers upon their tusks. They had wooden towers upon their backs, in the form of bastions, in which were cross-bowmen and archers, who could fight under cover. On the side of the A. D. 1399. Jan. 3.

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elephants were flingers of fire and melted pitch; and rockets shod with iron, which give repeated blows where they fall. The soldiers feared the elephants might fling them into the air. The learned doctors wished to be placed near where the ladies were, if his Majesty pleased.

Timur fell upon the earth and besought God to give him the victory. The battle began with the frightful noise of brass kettle-drums upon the elephants' backs, loud cymbals and bells, trumpets, and cries of the soldiers; so that even the most dauntless were somewhat dismayed. The enemy's left wing was thrown into disorder by their elephants. Their right wing was repulsed. The centre attacked Timur, and was so warmly received, that many elephants' trunks were cut off with sabres, and were strewed over the field with the slain. Mahmoud and Mellou Khan fled into Delhi and shut the gates. Calil Sultan, Timur's grandson, only fifteen years of age, wounded an elephant, the men on his back were overthrown, and the youth drove the animal before him into the camp: at sight of which Timur was affected to tears, for joy that God had given him such brave children, and such valiant subjects. Sultan Mahmoud and Mellou Khan departed from the city at midnight and fled; the first to Guzzerat, the other to Berren.

Jan. 4th. Timur planted his standard upon the walls of Delhi. At the gate, he sat on the throne of the Indian Monarch, gave audience, and received the submission of the principal persons. A hundred and twenty elephants, and twelve rhinoceroses were brought before Timur; and having been trained for such purposes, they placed themselves in a humble posture, and made a cry as if demanding quarter. These were war or chain elephants, and were sent to Samarcand, and some to the provinces, as presents; two to Tauris, five to Herat, one to Shiraz, one to Shirvan, and one to Arzendgian.

The prayers in the mosques were ordered to be said in the name of Timur, and the rigours of war were for some days forgotten in feastings, music, and rejoicings, during which Timur's soldiers insulted the inhabitants in the suburbs.

The sultanesses entered Delhi to inspect the curiosities, and the famous palace of the ancient Indian king Melec Jound; the court attending them was numerous, and about fifteen thousand soldiers entered unperceived. The disorders committed were great; and the natives, driven to despair, set fire to their houses and burnt their families in the conflagration. The soldiers let in the army, and the emirs lost all control over their fury; so that this great and proud city was sacked and desolated by a horrid massacre.

The next day, some of the soldiers took each one hundred and fifty slaves, men, women, and children: and carried them out of the city. Even the soldiers' boys had twenty slaves to their share. Pearls, diamonds, rubies, stuffs, belts, gold and silver vessels, money and curiosities were seized by the soldiers in vast quantities. Jan. 13.

Old Delhi underwent the same fate. The Indians assembled in a great mosque to defend themselves: but the Emir Shamelik and Ali Sultan Tavachi, forced it open with five hundred soldiers, and sent to the abyss of hell the souls of these infidels, erected a pile with their heads, and cast their bodies to the beasts and birds of prey*, such terrible slaughter and desolation were never heard of. Every emir took a number of slaves for his service: and several thousand tradesmen and artists were distributed among the princes. Others were sent to the nobility of the respective provinces. The Emperor re- Jan. 15.

* These massacres are considered by fanatics as a *virtue*. Timur's descendants, however, attempt some explanation, to exculpate him. See Dow's Hindostan, Vol. II. p. 9.

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served for himself all the masons, to build a spacious stone mosque at Samarcand.

Jan. 18. Timur having been fifteen days at Delhi, at ten in the morning marched to Firouse-Abad, three miles. He admired that delightful place, and visited the mosque, to return thanks to God for his conquest.

Two white parrots, which had many years been kept in the antichambers of the Indian Emperors, were presented to Timur, which he received, and considered as a good augury.

There was much opposition made to Timur, in several places. He became oppressed with illness and want of rest: twenty battles were fought in thirty days.

March 13. Ambassadors arrived from the king of Cashmere. The divan had taxed that king thirty thousand horses, and one hundred thousand direst of gold; but Timur found this demand too much for that little kingdom, and did not press it to such extent, being satisfied with the conduct of Chah Eskender. Timur sent him a present of ten elephants *.

March 15. The king of Tchamou was taken prisoner. He was treated with respect, and instructed in the beauties of the Mahomedan religion; he therefore quitted his errors, declared his belief in the unity of God, and ate the flesh of oxen with the mussulmans.

March 19. Lahore was taken, and taxed for the redeeming of the lives of the inhabitants. Chicai Couker was taken prisoner. This prince had accompanied Timur, but on his return to Lahore was wanting in the performance of his promises and the respect he had professed; on which, his country was pillaged and his person seized †. Timur be-

* Ayeen Akbery, Vol. II. p. 152.

† Dow, Vol. II. p. 11, says, he was beheaded; which is exceedingly probable.

ing an enemy to deception, had adopted this motto for his seal: "*Safety consists in fair dealing.*"

Officers arrived from Tauris, with an account of the affairs of Bagdat, Egypt, Syria, Anatolia, and Capchac. The generals arrived in camp from Lahore, and laid at Timur's feet many rich presents; of each kind by the number of nine, as is customary. Timur now made arrangements for returning to Samarcand. He distributed presents to the emirs, and to the lords of Hindostan, whom he sent to their respective countries, with his letters patent for their principalities. March 20.

The camp being at Gibhan on the frontier of Cashmir, Timur ordered a general hunting circle, and enjoyed that sport in this delightful place. There were lions, leopards, rhinoceroses, *unicorns*, blue stags, wild peacocks, parrots, and other animals. The falcons and hawks destroyed all the peacocks, pheasants, parrots, and ducks. The soldiers took a great deal of game, and slew several rhinoceroses with their sabres and lances*. The oranges and citrons do not come to maturity, on account of the snow. The air and water are delicious; the women very beautiful. The prince and court reside at Nagaz, in which there are seven bridges of boats over the river, which is as large as the Tigris. God has given this country natural defences: the roads unto it from Chorassan and from India being excessively difficult; and that from Thibet having so many poisonous herbs, that the horses who eat of them die, the inhabitants have no occasion for arms or armies. March 24.

Timur crossed the Indus, and encamped at Banou. His majesty was *struck by some evil eye:* upon his feet and hands were painful ulcers. The officers of his household carried him, in a litter, March 29. April 8.

* The blue stags were Nyl-gaus: respecting the unicorns, see Chap. XI. the last note.

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through a narrow defile, in which they were obliged to cross a river forty-eight times.

The empresses, princes, and great lords met the Emperor at Termed, and he arrived at Samarcand on the 16th of May.

May 16. The feastings and mutual presents were immense, and the empresses, princes of the blood, dukes, and foreign princes, showered so many precious stones upon his majesty, that it seemed as if the sands had been transformed into them.

May 28. Timur, to crown his merits with a work of piety, having destroyed the temples of false Gods and exterminated the idolaters, resolved to build a great mosque. Two hundred masons from Azerbijan, Persia, and India, were occupied in the inside, and five hundred men in cutting stone in the mountains. Ninety-five elephants were employed in drawing the stones upon machines made according to the laws of mechanics. The mosque being finished, contained four hundred and eighty pillars of hewn stone, seven cubits high; the arched roof was of marble, neatly carved and polished. From the architrave of the entablature to the top of the roof was nine cubits; at each corner outside was a minaret; the doors were of brass; and the walls without and within, and the arches of the roof, were adorned, in relievo, with the chapter of the Cavern and other passages of the Alcoran. The pulpit and reading desk, where prayers for the Emperor were read, were of the utmost magnificence; and the nich of the altar was covered with plates of iron gilt, and was of perfect beauty. Not one moment had been lost in finishing this stupendous building †.

† "Anon, out of the earth a fabric huge
Rose like an exhalation, * * *
Built like a temple, where pilasters round
Were set; * * * *
* * * nor did there want

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A. D. 1399.

Some months after Timur returned to Samarcand, he received accounts of the debaucheries, extravagance, and lunatic conduct of his son Mirza Miram Chah, viceroy of Media: on which he found it necessary to take the field again. He issued orders that all the prince's profligate favorites, who had instigated him to his evil conduct, should be hanged, without exception, as a warning to others. Oct. 11.

When the encampment was at Carubagh, news arrived of the death of the Khan of Capchac, of the death of the Sultan of Egypt, and of a civil war in that country; of the decease of the Emperor of China, and of great confusion in that empire; and that the king of Gete had also paid tribute to the angel Israel, which had caused dissension amongst his four sons.

Intelligence was received of Mirza Eskender, aged only fifteen years, having marched with his emirs and his army from Andecan; and that he had utterly defeated the Moguls in Mogulistan. The prince had been joined by the emirs at Cashgar; they advanced and ravaged Yarkand, Tchartac, Keiouc Bagh, and the province of Aoudge; they took the citadel of Ascou, consisting of three strong castles, which required sapping, battering rams, and many assaults with scaling ladders. They released some Chinese merchants, who had been shut up there. They suddenly invaded Bei and Cousan, and brought away captive the princess, wife of Emir Kezre Chah, her daughter, and other ladies; and pillaged the town of Tarem. They

Cornice or frieze, with bossy sculptures graven;
* * * and straight the doors
Opening their brazen folds." *Par. Lost*, B. I. l. 710.

There are two cubits, one is called *large* measure, in the architecture of Bailacan (a few pages forward). In Chap. I. the Sultan of Carisme exclaims, that of his immense kingdom, he has but *two* cubits left for his body. The writer has not been able to find out the length of the large cubit.

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proceeded to Choten and the mountain Carangoutac; from hence were sent two companies, of nine each, of the most beautiful Mogul young women to the Emperor, by Chiek Yasaoul; when the army returned to Cashgar.

The Emperor advanced towards Georgia, to make a holy war, in obedience to the Alcoran, on all who disbelieved the mussulman religion *. Through the defile of Comcha, which was full of trees, the soldiers, with their saws and axes, cleared a road ten days' journey in length, and broad enough for five companies to march abreast. It snowed for twenty days, but the fields became as red with the blood of the infidels as if sown with tulips; no quarter being given to any who were found. Comcha, the chief of those who disbelieve in future judgment, abandoned his effects and fled.

Wine was absolutely necessary for this people; even the little children drank it; and on their death-beds they entreated that some might be buried in their tombs with them, and their coffins be made of the vine tree. For this consideration, the troops rooted up and destroyed the vines, and razed their temples, which were so disagreeable to God. This being what Timur had done last year at Delhi, he had, as the poet says, one foot on the frontiers of India, and the other on the western limit of Arran †.

The cold and snow being great, and the horses reduced to feed on

* "And I determined on that measure, which was agreeable to my soldiers. And I placed a helmet of steel upon my head, and I clothed myself in the armour of Dauood (David), and I hung a scimitar of Missur (Egypt) by my side, and I sat on the throne of war." Timur's Institutes, p. 143. Ipocrates, the Christian king of Teflis, Timur's prisoner, had turned mussulman, and had given Timur a suit of armour, which he pretended the king of Israel had forged with his own hands in a smith's shop.

† To the warlike resemblance to Genghis Khan, Timur added the horrid fanaticism of Saint Dominic and Philip the Second.

the bark of trees, and many of them dying, Timur recrossed the Cyrus, and returned with *glory* to Carabagh.

A divan was held, and, after a formal enquiry, Hadgi Abdalla Abbas, and Mehemed Casgan, were bastinadoed, and several officers fined fifty, and some three hundred, horses, for their misconduct in the field. Prince Burhan Aglen was put to death for the same reason. Favours were distributed to Mirza Aboubeker.

Timur, considering that the interests of religion and his own policy would best be served by again attacking Georgia, resolved, with his council, on that measure. That country was again invaded, ravaged, and plundered: no mercy being shown. A.D. 1400.

His Majesty being irritated by the bad conduct of the Ottoman Emperor and the sultan of Egypt, notwithstanding the fatigues of the campaign just ended, determined, by the grace of God, to subdue them.

Bajazet, surnamed Ildurum, or the Thunderer, was Emperor of the Ottomans, and had subjected great part of Roum (Anatolia), and extended his dominions far into Europe, as well as towards Aleppo. He was so magnificent, that in his household he had twelve thousand dog keepers. This prince had the boldness to send an ambassador to Taharten, to summon him to court, and to send the tribute of Erzerom and other countries. Bajazet was not ignorant that Taharten was under Timur's protection. Whereupon Timur resolved to endeavour to bring him to a sense of his fault by friendship and mildness mixt with reproaches. He therefore ordered his secretary to write a letter to Bajazet.

" God, says the Alcoran, blesses those princes, who know what use they should make of their power, and go not beyond the bounds prescribed them. We let you know, that the greatest part of Asia is un-

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der our officers, and that our guard consists of sovereign kings. Where is the potentate that does not glory in being of the number of our courtiers? but for thee, whose true origin terminates in a Turcoman sailor* it would be well, since the ship of thy unfathomable ambition has suffered wreck in the abyss of self-love; if thou wouldest lower the sails of thy rashness, and cast the anchor of repentance in the port of sincerity; lest, by the tempest of our vengeance, you should perish in the sea of punishment. Since you have undertaken a vigorous war with Europeans, the enemies of the Mussulman law, we consider you favourably: leave your proud extravagances, and know, that no one ever dared make war with us, and prospered. The devil certainly inspires you to ruin yourself. Believe me, you are but a pismire, don't seek to fight elephants. The dove which rises against the eagle, destroys itself. But your rodomontades are not extraordinary; for a Turcoman never yet spake with judgment. If you don't follow our counsels, you will repent it."

Bajazet, on reading the letter, sent this answer: "It is a long time since we have been desirous of a war with you. If you don't advance, we will seek you; and we shall see in whose favour heaven will declare." On receiving this reply, Timur caused the imperial standard to be displayed, and marched for Anatolia.

Sept. 1. The Emperor encamped near Sebaste: he saw from an eminence, the place full of men singing and playing on musical instruments. Bajazet's van-guard appeared, retreated, and was pursued and cut to pieces, near Cæsarea. Sebaste was fortified with high thick stone walls,

* Bajazet was descended from Othman, the founder of the Turkish Empire, A. D. 1299. Othman was the son of an Oguzian or Turcoman chieftain, who had entered into the service of Aladin, sultan of Iconium, and had established himself with his tribe at the maritime town of Sivegut, on the river Sangar (the Iris), which runs into the Euxine sea. (See Gibbon, Ch. LXV. note 29.)

and a ditch full of water. In eighteen days, by the vigorous application of battering rams, and machines to cast fire and hurl stones, the inhabitants, in terror, supplicated for pardon. Timur's heart was softened by the cries of the women and children. He granted quarter to the Mussulmans, on their paying ransom; and made slaves of the Armenians and other Christians. Many places were reduced, but Bajazet avoided a battle.

Farrudge, son of the late Barcoc, king of Egypt and Syria, having added to his father's crimes against Timur, by arresting his ambassador, the Emperor resolved forthwith to chastise him. Timur's generals represented, on their knees, the peril of such an attempt by troops fatigued with campaigns against a difficult country, strong fortresses, and a numerous and well-appointed army. Timur promised them success, if they would put their trust in God; his resolution was not to be shaken†; and all obeyed him with zeal. "As for the pride and blindness of the Syrians and Egyptians, Mahomet has told us, (said he), that *when God resolves to destroy any one, he deprives him of common sense.*"

The army encamped at Behesna, between Malatia and Aleppo. Behesna and Antapa, two very strong places, were both taken. The governors and people were spared, at the intercession of Timur's son, Shah Rohk. They delivered great presents to the Emperor, in whose name prayers were read. The camp was pitched near Aleppo. Nov. 8.

The Egyptian sultan's army was collected from Tripoli, Balbec, Canaan, Rama, Jerusalem, and many other places; it was very numerous and well appointed.

Timourtach, the governor of Aleppo, represented the great power

† —— I should ill become this throne, * *
And this imperial sov'reignty, * *
* * * * if aught * *
Of difficulty or danger could deter me. *Par. Lost*, B. II. l. 445.

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and uniform conquests of Timur; and was for treating*: but the governor of Damascus taxed him with cowardice, and enumerated the stone fortresses of Syria, the goodness of their Damascus bows, Egyptian swords, and Arabian lances. Opposition was resolved on.

Timur advanced towards Aleppo, half a league a-day, entrenching his army every evening, and making a rampart of the bucklers. The Syrians, concluding that the Tartars mistrusted their strength, prepared to give battle. The main body of Timur's army was commanded by himself, with a rank of elephants in front, equipped magnificently, to serve as a rampart: their towers were filled with archers and flingers of wild-fire. These animals coiled up their trunks like serpents.

The right wing was commanded by the mirzas, Miran Chah and Shah Rohk; the left by Sultan Mahmoud, accompanied by the great emirs. Every one had on his coat of mail, a cuirass, and a helmet.

The Syrian army was composed of a right and left wing, and a main body.

The Tartars advanced with their ensigns displayed: the kettle drums and trumpets sounded, and both sides shouted, Alla Akbar!

The two wings of the Syrians were overpowered, and the ground was strewed with carcasses, helmets, and sabres. The elephants rushed upon the main body of the Syrian army, and, with their trunks, tossed many into the air, and trampled others under their feet, no one being able to stop them.

The two governors, seeing such dreadful slaughter in so short a time, fled; the soldiers dispersed themselves. The major part took the road to Damascus, and were pursued so closely, that only one

* According to the computation of the Emperor's comptroller, his army consisted of eight hundred thousand men. Sherefeddin, II. p. 165, note 4.

horseman of that great number reached the city. The others fleeing to Aleppo, were pursued and slaughtered in such heaps, that they were piled up to the plinth of the walls; three or four of the crowd being run through at a time by a single pike. CHAP. IV.

The camp and city were pillaged: the booty was prodigious. The women, children, cattle, gold, jewels, &c. were seized and kept by the soldiers. Nov. 11.

The strong citadel was terrified into surrender. The governors were put in irons, and a message sent to the son of Barcoc, at Cairo, to release Timur's ambassador. Immense treasures were lodged in the citadel, and eight emirs were left to guard it.

* * * *

Some castles were taken, and Timur advanced to Hama. The inhabitants gave up their treasures, and were protected. Balbec was reduced without trouble, and vast quantities of fruits, pulse, and all manner of necessaries were found in it.

Balbec, being in the vicinity of a mountain, the weather was now very cold, and much snow fell. The Emperor therefore departed, and, after a few days' march, he went to the tomb of the prophet Noah, to beseech his blessing; and then set out for the conquest of Damascus. A.D. 1401. Jan. 3.

The main body of the army had been sent to ravage the maritime towns of Syria; and now joined the camp, laden with booty.

Syria now belonging to Egypt, the governors had made urgent representations to Farrudge, their king, to come and oppose Timur.—He marched to Damascus, and it was immediately prepared for defence. His cavalry was the best in the world. Using policy as well as strength, he sent, as ambassador to Timur, an eloquent and perfect

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villain, in a humble religious habit; accompanied by two young assassins with poisoned daggers, to murder the Emperor during the audience.

On Timur's approach towards Damascus, these wretches joined his court, and had several complimentary interviews, at the foot of the throne; which presented favourable opportunities: but the Almighty, who was always Timur's protector, would not suffer the execution of their designs. Coja Masaoud Semnani, one of the great secretaries of the council, conceived some suspicions, from the manner of proceeding of these persons: and communicated them to some one, who related them to the Emperor.

Timur ordered the Egyptians to be searched, and poisoned daggers were found in their boots. The Emperor returned thanks to his Sovereign Protector. It is not, said he, the maxim of kings to murder ambassadors; yet it would be a crime to suffer this rascal or his comrades to live; who, though clothed in a religious habit, is a monster of perfidy. He thereupon ordered the ambassador to be killed with the poisoned daggers; and the noses and ears of the two assassins to be cut off, meaning to send them back with a letter to the Sultan of Egypt.

Timur encamped near Damascus, at the foot of a hill, with a trench and palisadoes round his army. He ordered the prisoners brought from Aleppo to be put to death, in revenge for the king's scandalous action. Two days after, his Majesty sent Padshah Baouram, as ambassador to the sultan, with this letter:—

"All this great noise of the world is not so much to heap up riches, as to acquire honour; for half a loaf a-day is sufficient for the nourishment of a man. Whenever I have demanded Atilmich, my ambassador, from you, you have always started difficulties. We therefore make war on you. If rocks could speak, they would tell you, that this

action of your's portends no good to you; yet, if you will cause the money to be coined, and the public prayers to be read in our name, this shall stop our fury. Our soldiers are like roaring lions, which want their prey. I set before you peace and joy, or war and desolation. Make your choice with prudence. Farewell."

Timur's ambassador was received with great honour. Several Egyptian lords were sent to the camp, to ask the Emperor's pardon: they promised that, in five days, Atilmich should be sent to his august presence. They returned to Damascus with presents of vests; and this friendly appearance gave joy to the inhabitants.

After ten days' encampment, Timur wished to remove to Goula, Jan. 19. that his horses might feed in those delicious pastures. The Syrians mistaking his decampment for weakness, their whole army and multitudes of people came out to attack him. Timur faced about, and entrenched his camp behind the baggage and some great stones. An action ensued, and the vast plain was deluged with the blood of the Syrians, who were defeated and slain in immense numbers.

Mirza Sultan Hussein, the Emperor's grandson, after a debauch, was excited by some seditious Persians, a few evenings before, to revolt and join the Syrians in Damascus. He commanded the left wing of the Syrians in this action, and fought against the Mirzas, Miran Shah and Shah Rohk. He was taken prisoner. Timur ordered him to be loaded with chains*. At the intercession of Shah Rohk, he was liberated, but not till he had been bastinadoed, as ordered by the law of Yasac. He was never afterwards admitted into the Emperor's hall.

Timur ordered the army to march, in order of battle, towards Da-

* "And with respect to my family, I rent not asunder the bonds of consanguinity and mercy; and I issued not commands to slay them, or to bind them with chains." Timur's Inst. p. 173.

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mascus. The front of the army, from the extremity of one wing to that of the other, was between three and four leagues. The elephants in a great rank marched in front. The approach to the city was rising ground; and Timur meant to dishearten the Syrians by this magnificent display; as they had but an imperfect knowledge of the multitude of his army.

The king of Egypt, at sight of this immense force, held a council. Some were for defending the city: but it was decided that the king and principal persons should escape at night, and flee to Egypt. A letter was therefore sent to the Emperor, to beg one day, and they would obey his orders: the king disclaimed the battle that had taken place, as not ordered by him. On this Timur encamped.

At night, the sultan and principal lords left Damascus, and took the road to Cairo. A Tartar deserter, named Thacmac, went to Sultan Shah Rohk, and informed him thereof. Some of the king's party were overtaken, and several slain; and the baggage which they had abandoned, was captured.

Timur now quartered his army in the suburbs of Damascus. He visited the tombs of Oumme Selma and Habiba, wives of Mahomet, and that of Belalhabachi, whose intercession he implored.

The inhabitants of the city were seized with fear, and all the cherifs, the cadis, emams, and lawyers, went out, and threw themselves at the foot of the throne, with entire submission and large presents.—They implored the Emperor's pity on the mussulmans. The ransom was agreed on, and seven gates of the city were walled up, leaving one open for Timur's office, to which payment was brought. The chief of the deputation was Cadi Veliddin, whose discourse pleased Timur; and the party was invited to dine at his table. The cadi conversed with the Emperor about Africa, in which country he had travelled; for Timur was well versed in the history of states and princes, both of the east and the west.

Prayers were read in the famous mosque of the Ommiades califs, in the name and titles of the august Emperor.

Some of the soldiers having used violence after the publication of quarter, Timur caused them to be crucified.

The governor of the castle confiding in its immense strength, held out, and was besieged in form by a very great force. Three platforms were built, high enough to command it; from which fire-pots, arrows, and great stones were thrown in as thick as hail. The walls were shaken by battering rams; the large pieces of rock, in the walls, were heated, and shattered by vinegar being cast on them, and then broken by hammers. The walls were sapped, and one of the vast towers fell. The soldiers rushed to the breach, and eighty Persians being crushed under the falling ruins, the troops halted. The breach was quickly filled up by the Syrians. The wooden props which supported part of the fortifications being set on fire, the governor, hopeless of a successful defence, came out, and delivered the keys of the fortress and the treasury to Timur, who ordered him to be put to death, for not surrendering earlier.

The treasure was very great. There was a granary of corn, being the revenues of Mecca and Medina; the amount for which it was sold was considerable, in consequence of a scarcity. Timur ordered the whole sum to be distributed among the officers of those renowned cities, for he was sincere in his religion: and then, with very civil treatment, sent them back to Jerusalem.

The garrison of Damascus was composed of Circassians, mamalucs Ethiopian slaves, and Zanguebars; the women, children, and old men, were all made slaves.

The Syrian money being of a base alloy, Timur ordered a recoinage in his own name; the gold and silver to be refined. There was so much money among the soldiers, that the revenue to the divan on this

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recoinage was six hundred thousand dinars copeghi (about one hundred and sixty-eight thousand pounds sterling).

Timur ordered the coast of the Mediterranean to be ravaged, which was done; and the emirs then returned, with great booty, to Canaan.

The Emperor was severely attacked with an imposthume upon his back, but soon recovered.

The soldiers were now so overloaded with booty, that they actually threw away gold and silver stuffs and other valuable things, not being able to carry them. "Several creditable persons, eye-witnesses, related this to me*."

Damascus was accidentally burnt, being built of inflammable materials. "Timur, whose regard for religion was unparalleled, sent to save the mosque of Ommiades; but, by God's wrath against these people, the stone minaret was burnt; whereas the wooden minaret Arous, or Mounar Beiza, remained safe, which was miraculous. Upon this, the mussulmans believe that the Lord Messiah Jesus, on whom, as on our prophet, may blessings be showered, will descend from heaven, when he shall come to judge both the living and the dead†."

Timur having made the Syrians feel his wrath, now gave them marks of his clemency; he ordered all the slaves taken in Syria and Damascus, men, women, and children, to be set at liberty.

Tadmor, built by the prophet Solomon, was plundered, and two hundred thousand sheep taken. Some Turcomans near the Euphrates were defeated, and their horses, sheep, and camels taken. The soldiers now possessed eight hundred thousand sheep.

A.D. 1401. July 23.

Bagdat was again taken and plundered. Ninety thousand inhabitants were slain, and one hundred and twenty pyramids were made of their heads.

* Sherefeddin. † Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 200.

Timur, on arriving at the river Jagatou, was joined by the Empress Serai Mulc Canum, the mirzas and their wives and children, the doctors and principal lords of the empire of Iran. His Majesty, who was extremely desirous of being enlightened on questions of religion, invited some of the learned to dispute on some points, in order to clear up the truth.

The Emperor, being at Tauris, received a repentant letter from Bajazet, and granted him his pardon. A great hunting circle was now made and an immensity of game killed.

Timur received news of the death of his general, Emir Hadgi Seifeddin; he was sensibly touched, even to tears, at the loss of this faithful servant.

Bajazet having given protection to a powerful robber, who plundered the caravans of Mecca, Timur had a correspondence with him to remonstrate.

The castle of Kemac, on the Euphrates, was taken. For nearly three days together, little birds as big as sparrows, and unfledged, fall out of the air at this place; the inhabitants gather them up, salt them, and preserve them in pots. If they do not take them in three days, their wings grow large enough to fly away*.

Timur receives a very unsatisfactory and evasive embassy from Bajazet, and finds himself constrained to invade the Ottoman empire. The Emperor reviewed his army, which proved much to his satisfaction; many of the corps being now so equipped, as to be more perfectly and easily distinguished in the heat of battle.

The army advances to Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and his Majesty sends a letter to Bajazet enjoining him to listen to his moderate pro-

* Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 240.

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posals, and send back the officers of his ally Taharten, who had been seized; and to let one of his sons be sent also, who shall be treated with courtesy and tenderness, as a pledge of his sincerity.

The Emperor encamped with all his army, at Ancora. Bajazet's army advanced*. When night came, Timur offered up his prayers to the great creator of the universe, who had been his particular benefactor. "O Lord! what thou hast hitherto done for me redounds to thy glory, why then should I despair?"

Timur ranged his immense army, which was commanded by the greatest lords of Asia. Himself commanded the body of reserve. Several ranks of elephants, equipped in the completest and most magnificent manner, were posted at the head of the whole army †.

Bajazet's right wing was commanded by Pesir Laus, an European, his wife's brother; with twenty thousand cavalry of Europe, armed in steel from head to foot, so that nothing could be seen but their eyes. Their armour was fastened below the foot by a padlock, which, except they open, their cuirass and helmet cannot be taken off. The left wing was led by Mussulman Chelibi, son of Bajazet, and composed of the troops of Anatolia. The main body was commanded by Bajazet himself, having for his lieutenants-general, his three sons, Moussa, Aisa, and Mustafa. The most skilful of his five sons, Mehemed Chelibi, had the command of the rear, assisted by many pachas and brave captains.

The two armies were resolved to conquer or die. The signals for battle were given; the large trumpet (Kerrenai) was sounded.

* "Four hundred thousand men, horse-men, and foot-men, advanced with speed to oppose and expel me." Timur's Institutes, p. 153.

† The number of elephants brought from India by Timur, must have been very great.

Bajazet's left wing was attacked with a discharge of arrows, and Cara Osman broke through it.

The son of Bajazet performed very noble actions, but being unable to withstand the attack, he fled with his troops. Bajazet's right suffered a cruel slaughter, and was put in great disorder. On the other hand, the Europeans, falling on Timur's troops, gave marks of prodigious valour and invincible courage. There were alternate repulses; but the death of the prince Pesir Laus, and the slaughter of the infantry of Bajazet's right wing, gave Timur the advantage. Timur perceiving this, ordered the commanders to fall on the Ottomans with all his army. Quickly, a most terrible carnage ensued, and the rest of the enemy fled. The weather, the sun being in Leo, was so hot that numbers of the enemy perished with thirst.

A party had surrounded Bajazet, and attempted to capture or kill him; but he defended himself very bravely, and made good his escape; he was however hotly pursued, and the Sultan Mahmoud, titular Grand Khan of Zagatai, seized him, and he was presented by the great emirs, at sun set, with his hands bound, to the conqueror. At this sight Timur was moved with compassion*. He ordered Bajazet's hands to be unbound, and that he might be brought before him with respect. When he was admitted, Timur went to receive him at the door of his tent, with great ceremony; and causing him to sit down, said to him: "The accidents of this world happen through the will of God, but it may justly be said, that you are the sole cause of the misfortunes that have befallen you. Knowing that you warred against the infidels, I used all possible mildness, and would even have given you succour to exterminate the enemies of Mahomet. You haughtily refused my moderate proposals for peace. Every one knows, if God

* Bajazet was then suffering from an attack of the gout.

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had given you the victory, in what manner you designed to treat me and my army. But, to return thanks to God for my good fortune, you may rest satisfied that I will neither treat you nor your friends ill." Bajazet was confounded. "I have indeed done wrong, said he, in not following the counsels of so great an Emperor; and my punishment is merited. If your Majesty is willing to pardon me, I swear the future obedience of myself and my children."

Timur gave Bajazet a splendid vest, comforted him, and treated him as a great Emperor. He was lodged in a royal pavilion, and his son Moussa, who was found in the camp, was sent to him.

Timur sent Mirza Mehemed Sultan to Brusa, in Bythinia, the seat of the Ottoman empire, with several tomans, to take possession of Bajazet's treasures, and the riches of the city, which they then burnt: Mussulman Chelibi had fled to Europe in all haste, and had carried off part of the treasure. The other cities of Natolia were in like manner ravaged, and the people made slaves.

Great rewards were distributed among the emirs: and every soldier had many horses. Bajazet's treasures were brought upon mules and camels, to Kioutahia*, where they were presented to Timur, with the fallen monarch's family, and his beautiful slaves; who were good dancers, could sing well, and excelled in music. The Emperor sent to Bajazet, his wife, named Destina, (whose brother, Pesir Laus, the European, had been killed in the battle), with his daughter and all his domestics; but was desirous that that princess, who had been tolerated in the Christian religion, even in Bajazet's seraglio, should embrace the tenets of Mahomed†.

* "In my expedition against Room, I gave unto my soldiers seven years' wages: part thereof due, and the remainder in advance. The subsistence of a private soldier was fixed at the value of his horse." Timur's Institutes, p. 209, 233.

† The European romances call her Roxana: and make Timur place her in his seraglio.

Emir Mehemed, son of Caraman, who had been kept in chains for twelve years by Bajazet, was brought to court and invested by Timur with the government of Caramania, Iconium, and their dependencies; and which remained in his family, under the protection of Timur.

The army, after spending a month in banquets and plays, departed from Kioutahia. On the march, there were feastings and music, to which Bajazet was invited, and treated with great honour. Timur even granted him the investiture of Natolia, the crown was placed upon his head, and a patent given him for his government, in the usual form.

Timur sent to the Sultan of Egypt to desire that the money should be coined in his name and titles, and that he would release Atilmich, the ambassador. Two ambassadors were sent to the Greek Emperor at Constantinople, to summon him to pay tribute and customs; which was consented to, and confirmed by a solemn treaty.

The Emperor, in his marches in Natolia, ravaged and laid under contribution all the towns he approached. Being informed that there was an exceedingly strong place on the sea-shore, built of free stone, surrounded on three sides by the ocean, and on the fourth by a deep ditch, inhabited by Europeans, and named Ezmir (Smyrna); and that it had never been taken by any Mahomedan, or paid tribute; and that Bajazet had besieged it in vain for seven years; his zeal for religion made him resolve to summon them to embrace that of Mahomet, or to pay tribute; or, in case of refusal, he would order them all to be put to the sword. These proposals were made in vain. This place contained a great number of the bravest Christian captains, or rather a band of desperate wretches who had laid up much ammunition.

Timur arrived in the midst of rains, and winter. After the most fu- A.D. 1402. Dec. 6.

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rious attacks, and valorous defence; by means of sapping, battering-rams, and fire, the place was stormed, the inhabitants put to the sword, the buildings razed, and the moveables cast into the sea. Two large ships, called caraccas, arrived, and their commanders anchored. Timur ordered that some of the Christians' heads should be cast by the machinery on board the vessels; on which they departed. This siege was terminated in two weeks, and every one acknowledged the greatness of the Emperor.

Timur granted favors and governments to two sons of Bajazet. He ordered a strong citadel to be built at Smyrna, and that Grecian Christians should not be admitted into Asia that way.

An European, named Soba, prince of the island of Chio, where mastich grows, voluntarily submitted to pay tribute to the Emperor, and sent him presents by an ambassador.

Bajazet, while Timur was on the march, fell sick. The Emperor sent the most skilful physicians of the court to attend him, with the same care as if it were for himself; but, since there is nothing of certain duration but God, Bajazet died of apoplexy on the 14th of Chaban, 805.

A.D. 1403. March 23.

Timur was so extremely affected, that he bewailed the misfortunes of that great prince with tears. He reflected how Providence baffles all human projects; for he intended to raise the dejected spirit of Bajazet, by re-establishing him with great power; but fate had otherwise ordered it.

Largesses were bestowed on Bajazet's officers, and the Emperor presented his son with a royal vest, a belt, a sword, a quiver enriched with precious stones, a load of gold, and thirty horses: he likewise gave him his letters patent, sealed with the impression of his red hand, and then dismissed him; assuring him that Bajazet's coffin should be

sent with the pomp of a great king to Brusa, to be interred in his own mausoleum*.

A.D. 1403. March 27.

Timur's son, Mehemed, it is supposed by the unskilfulness of his physicians, died, aged nineteen. He had, at this early age, obtained more victories, and performed greater acts of valour, than many heroes recorded in history. The afflicted father, flinging his crown aside, rent his clothes, and cast himself upon the ground in the most surprising transports of grief. The princes and lords, and the ladies at court, wore nothing but sackcloth; covering their heads and bosoms with earth, and sleeping upon chaff. The princess Canike, Mehemed's wife, was so overwhelmed with sorrow, that she lost her senses. Even the soldiers of the army were deeply grieved. The ministers of state, falling on their faces, implored the Emperor to arm himself with patience, and compose his mind.

Farrudge, Sultan of Egypt, sent back Timur's ambassador, Atilmich, with assurances of entire submission and payment of tribute. Timur promised him his protection. The Emperor pursued his march homeward, and was joined by his sons and grandchildren. At sight of Mehemed's two little sons, Timur could not refrain from tears. The princess Canzade, mother of Mehemed, when made acquainted with his death, and seeing all the ladies with black mantles covering their heads, swooned, plucked out her hair, and tore her lovely cheeks with her nails. Timur, in hopes of soothing her, ordered an empty coffin, strongly fastened, to be presented to her, which she eagerly embraced, weeping and groaning.—"My eyes, (said the afflicted princess), were continually watching the public road, in expectation of some news of

* The story of the iron cage is related by some historians, but not by the Persians. See a dissertation on that subject by Gibbon, Ch. LXV. The truth is, perhaps, that the house upon wheels, such as Bajazet, as well as others, travelled in, was secured, to prevent his escape, by iron bars.

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my dear child! I expected not this cruelty from Fortune. O deplorable condition! O wretched Canzade! O unfortunate prince! merciless Fate hath snatched the sceptre of Iran from thy hand; and it is not without cause, that tears of blood gush from my eyes."

Timur, judging it proper to do something for the spiritual good of his soul, ordered a funereal banquet. All the grandees and nobles of Asia sat, according to their rank, at the Emperor's table. The Alcoran was read, and Mehemed's brass drum was beaten; at sound of which there was a sudden and loud weeping; and the drum was broken to pieces, being the custom of the Moguls. The Emperor loaded the doctors with favours and honours, and permitted an order to be issued for leaving off the sackcloth, and other marks of grief.

Timur sent Mirza Aboubecre to rebuild and reinstate Bagdat, in its former splendour; so that a caravan might depart the next year for Mecca.

The Emperor invaded Georgia, considering it a gazie (holy war), and a duty. Death and havock were the consequences to the Georgians; and they submitted to pay tribute. The Emperor arrived at Teflis, having ruined all the churches and monasteries in those parts.

In one month, being the cold season, Timur rebuilt the city of Bailacan, consisting of a wall, a ditch, four market places, a great number of houses, baths, caravanserais, squares, and gardens, all of brick. The great Emperors of antiquity could not have achieved this in a year. The circumference of the walls was twenty-four hundred cubits *large* measure, the thickness eleven cubits, and the height fifteen; with a ditch thirty cubits broad, and twenty wide; at each corner, there were a great bastion, a gallery with battlements, and a machine to cast stones. The soldiers were under the direction of the Emperor's sons and the emirs.

The government of Bailacan, Georgia, Armenia, and Trebizond, was given to Mirza Calil Sultan. As water was wanting at Bailacan, his Majesty ordered a canal to be dug from the Araxes; six leagues long and fifteen cubits in breadth. It was finished in about a month.

Timur sent intendants into all his provinces, to distribute justice with rigour, and to examine the state of affairs, with full power.

"My heart," said the Emperor, "hath always been set on the enlarging of the limits of my vast empire; but now, I take a resolution to use all my care in procuring security to my subjects, and to render my kingdom flourishing. I ordain that private persons address their complaints to myself. I am unwilling that, at the day of judgment, my poor oppressed subjects should cry for vengeance against me; and I desire to lay up a treasure of justice, that my soul may be happy after death."

The assembly lifted up their hands to heaven, and said—"O God, who art the Lord both of this world and the next, hearken to the righteous petitions of this just prince; and, as thou hast subjected the earth to him; after a long reign in this world, let him reign with thee, in glory, in the other."

Justice was now done on some great lords and governors.

Timur ordered a famous chase in the plains of Actam, beyond the Araxes. The dogs had coverings of satin, embroidered with gold, and the hunting leopards had chains of gold, set with jewels, about their necks. There were Grecian greyhounds, esteemed for their swiftness, excellent beagles, and huge European mastiffs, as strong and terrible as tigers.

After three days the circle began to close, and the slaughter of lions antelopes, roebucks, and stags, was infinite*.

* This is a fine sporting country. "We came to the Araxes, and, in five

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A.D. 1404.

Timur, having made himself master of Natolia and Syria, with their dependencies; subjected Egypt to pay an annual tribute; and fulfilled the precept in the Alcoran, in making war on the Christians of Georgia; reflected that, to crown his happy life, he had no more to conquer in Asia than the Emperor of China, the inhabitants of which empire were infidels. He therefore resolved on that conquest, and departed from Carabagh for Samarcand.

April 8.

July.

After a long march, during which his Majesty punished some revolters, he reached his capital.

An ambassador* arrived from one of the greatest sovereigns of Europe, who brought Timur many curious presents; among which were some of tapestry, so curiously worked that they disgraced the painter Manis's greatest performances.

Timur ordered the Damascus architects to build a magnificent palace, in the garden south of Baghi Chemal, each of its sides being fifteen hundred cubits. There were perpetual fountains in

days' march, to a plain full of wormwood and aromatic shrubs, but no trees; the most numerous wild creatures, were ostriches, bustards, roe-deer, and asses; the last exceeded our horses in speed, and when they had gained ground, they stood still, till the pursuers approached, and again they fled; we were therefore obliged to hunt them by relays. Their flesh is like that of the red-deer, but more tender." Xenophon, Retreat, p. 27.

* Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, from Henry III. King of Castile. Clavijo published an account of this embassy, which bears authentic testimony to facts related by Sherefeddin; and he gives an account of a former embassy of two gentlemen of the court, to Timur; who, when they returned, were accompanied by a great lord, as an ambassador from Timur to Henry, with a letter and abundance of rich presents; among which were two ladies taken out of Bajazet's seraglio, one of whom was daughter of Count John, a Hungarian, and niece of the king of Hungary. Her name was Donna Angelina de Grecia; the other was a Greek named Donna Maria. The first married Diego Gonzales de Contreras, Regidor of Segovia. The latter married Payo Gomes de Sotomayor, one of the ambassadors. They were both respected at the court of Castile. See the French Editor's Preface to Sherefeddin.

great variety, mosaic work, marble, porcelain, and every rich ornament. Here Timur ordered a banquet to be prepared with all the delights which mortals can desire for their gratification. The European ambassadors were invited, for even the casses have their place in the ocean *.

Timur, in conformity with the commands of the Alcoran, was willing that his grand-children should be married. He sent circular letters to all his nobles and governors of the empire, (with the exception of Shah Rohk, who could not be spared from the kingdoms of Irac and Azerbijan), to meet at Canighul, for this grand marriage-feast. Oct. 17.

The tents were fastened with ropes of silk, and the floors covered with carpets wrought with gold; the curtains were of velvet of Chuchter; the ceilings of ebony and ivory, exquisitely engraved.

The Emperor's division consisted of four great enclosures, regularly planned. The Imperial residence consisted of two hundred tents, gilt and adorned with precious stones. Each tent had twelve columns of silver inlaid with gold: the outside was scarlet and seven other colours, and they were lined with satin of all colours.

The mirzas and emirs had their tents also, which were supported by columns of massive silver, and spread with the richest carpets. The generals, governors, and lords pitched their tents in good and regular order.

The people came from China, Muscovy, Greece, India, Zabul, Bagdat, Syria, in short from all Asia. Mengheli, a principal lord of Egypt, and eloquent man, and who could repeat the whole Alcoran, arrived as ambassador from Farrudge, the son of Barcoc, with abundance of rich presents in gold and jewels, and also a Giraffe and nine large ostriches.

* Animals about the size of a grain of corn, which float upon the sea.

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The Emperor's sons arrived and presented the most precious gifts, always nine of a sort. In fine, Canighul was converted from a garden of flowers, which its name implies, into a bed of precious stones, pearls, and gold *.

An amphitheatre was built and spread with brocade and Persian carpets, with seats for vocal and instrumental performers; and places for buffoons and jesters, to excite mirth by their facetious sayings. Another was prepared for all sorts of trades. A hundred divisions were laid out with pomegranates, pears, apples, and fruits, which perfumed the air.

Some young women were dressed up as angels, fairies, satyrs, speaking goats with gilt horns; and there were figures of elephants and sheep.

The furriers appeared in the guise of leopards, lions, tigers, &c. to represent Genii, who had thus transformed themselves.

The upholsterers made an artificial camel, which walked about as if alive. The saddlers made two open litters, which were laid upon a camel; two beautiful women were placed in them, and diverted the assembly with variety of postures of the hands and feet. The rope dancers attracted the admiration of all.

The grand cadi of Samarcand received the consent of the six princes and princesses; the articles were agreed on; the ceremony read; and the parties joined in marriage; which he registered. Every one sprinkled the brides and bridegrooms with jewels.

The Emperor, seated upon his throne, ordered a most magnificent banquet to be served up to the brides and court ladies, by the greatest beauties of the seraglio, decorated with crowns of flowers.

* "All the riches of Xerxes and Darius, of which our historians talk so extravagantly, were trifling in comparison of the jewels and gold exhibited on this occasion, on the delightful plain, called *Ganigul*, or the treasury of roses." Sir W. Jones, Vol. V. p. 607.

The princes of the blood, emirs, nevians, cherifs, foreign ambassadors, the emirs of tomans and hazares, were seated according to their rank, under a canopy of twelve columns, distant from the nuptial hall a horse's course.

The Yesaouls (or Chaoux) were mounted on the finest horses, with saddles of gold and jewels, magnificently dressed in gold brocade, with silver wands in their hands, to shew their authority. On another side were elephants of a prodigious size, with a kind of thrones upon their backs, abundantly ornamented.

Cammez, wines, brandy, oxymel, hippocras, sirma, and other liquors, were presented upon salvers of gold and silver, in cups of agate, rock crystal, and gold, ornamented with pearls and jewels.

Several forests were cut down, to dress the victuals of this banquet. The whole plain was covered with tables, flaggons, baskets of provision, and jars for the court and people.

It was proclaimed by the crier, by the Emperor's command:—

"This is the time for feasting and rejoicing, let no one encroach on another, or ask—'Why have you done this?'"

After the feast, mules and camels, handsomely adorned in satin embroidery and little golden bells, were laden with rich habits, crowns, and belts of jewels, for the newly married.

The brides and bridegrooms changed their rich dresses, crowns, and belts, nine times; at each change paying their respects, and being sprinkled with jewels, till the ground was covered; and which became the profit of the domestics.

The following night there were illuminations in every place, of lanterns, torches, and lamps; and the new married entered the nuptial chambers. The next day the Emperor, Empresses, great emirs, and cherifs, visited them at their apartments. The sound of drums

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and trumpets was heard in every place, from Canighul to Tous, in Chorassan.

The ambassadors of India, Egypt, Spain, Gete, Decht-Capchac, and others, witnessed this magnificence and pleasure, which lasted two months; and they were distinguished by particular favours.

The marriage-feasts being over, Timur recalled the licence, and forbade the drinking of wine, or other unlawful act; and every one was ordered to his proper employ.

The Emperor returned to his closet, to address himself to God—"O Almighty Being, whose essence is unknown but to thyself, how can I recite thy praise, who out of nothing hast created me, and from a petty prince hast rendered me the mightiest emperor of the universe!—Continue, then, O thou Great Creator! thy goodness to me. I know that I am but dust. O Lord! put me not to shame because of my vices, who have been so long accustomed to partake of thy favours: and then I shall rest contented."

Timur having summoned his children and the great emirs, addressed them thus: "As my vast conquests have caused the destruction of a great number of God's creatures, I have resolved to atone for the crimes of my past life, by exterminating the infidels of China. It is fitting, therefore, my dear companions, that the instruments whereby the faults were committed, should also be the instruments of repentance, and have the merit of that holy war, to demolish the temples of the idols of fire; and erect in their places mosques and chapels: as the Alcoran assures us, that good works efface the sins of this world."—These sentiments were unanimously applauded—"Let the Emperor, (said they) display his standard, and his slaves will follow him."

Timur returned to Samarcand, and dismissed the princes to their governments, and the ambassadors to their countries, with honour and distinction.

The Emir Berendac was ordered to review the troops. He brought word to the Emperor, that they consisted of two hundred thousand men complete; capable of the greatest enterprises. Timur was pleased, and ordered them to begin the march. Having consulted the astrologers; who finding the moon, the sun, and Jupiter, in favourable aspects, the Emperor seized the happy moment, and began his march.

A.D. 1405. Jan. 8. The winter was very violent: the Emperor encamped at Ascoulat. From this place, Timur strictly enjoined the viceroys and governors to do justice, and guard his people from harm; that he may not have to blush for their shame before the throne of God, at the day of judgment.

The army was well supplied, and several thousand loads of corn were carried in waggons, to sow the fields on the road, and thousands of she-camels were taken for their milk. The violence of the cold was such, that men and horses perished; and many lost their hands, feet, ears, or noses. Timur crossed the Sihon, upon the ice, which they found, on digging for water, was two or three cubits thick.

Feb. 27. The Emperor arrived at Otrar, seventy-six parasangs from Samarcand, and lodged in the palace of Birdi Bey, where all the princes and lords had also their respective apartments. The day of the Emperor's arrival, one corner of the roof of the palace, in which he was lodged, took fire from the tunnel of a chimney running by it; but the fire was soon extinguished.

March 25. On the 10th of Chaban, Timur was attacked by a burning fever, and believed he heard the Houris say to him, "Repent! for you must appear before God." On this he became sincerely penitent for his crimes*.

* Enthusiasm (says Locke) is a state of mind founded neither on reason nor

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His sickness increasing, and having no rest, he was much weakened. Then, neither empire, nor armies, nor riches, nor crowns, stood him in any stead. One of the most skilful physicians of the age employed all his care*; but fate had ordained. His mind continued sound, and he resolved courageously to face death. He called the empresses and principal emirs into his presence. "I am satisfied," said the Emperor, "that my soul is about to leave my body. I beseech you, instead of uttering cries, rending your garments, and running to and fro, like madmen, to say Alla Akbar! and the Fathia, that my soul may find comfort. Since God has enabled† me to give laws to the earth, whereby, through

revelation, but rises from the conceits of an overweening brain. Timur would now, probably, reflect on the numerous pyramids of ghastly heads.

TIMUR'S DREAM.

Hark! I hear the Houris say—
Soul of Timur, wing thy way,
Leaving earth and mortal things,
Stand before the King of Kings!
Awful truth must here be told—
If thou fought'st for God or gold.

* It is said, that Timur had imprudently drunk a glass of cold water, which, not improbably, saved the empire of China.

† Once, at the siege of a strong castle, Timur, by too much fatigue, was seized with a fever, but not being able to rest without seeing how things went on, he ordered his attendants to carry him to the door of his tent, which stood upon an eminence, and from whence he beheld the attack. He was supported under the arms by two persons; but, being very weak, he soon ordered them to lay him gently upon the ground, which they did. Then, sending one of them away, he said to the other, named Mahmud of Marasm, "Consider my feebleness, and how destitute I am of strength. I have neither a hand to do anything, nor a foot to walk: if I should be attacked, I cannot defend myself. Should I be abandoned in the condition I am in, I should remain as in a trap, without being able in any wise to help myself, or avoid the evils that must befal me: yet, see, the Almighty has subjected nations to my obedience, gives me entrance into the most inaccessible places, fills

all the kingdoms of Iran and Touran, no one dare encroach on his neighbour, I have hopes that he will pardon my sins, though they are without number. I have the consolation, throughout my reign, of not having permitted the strong to oppress the weak. I declare my son Pir Mehemed Gehanghir, my universal heir, and lawful successor to the empire. He must possess the throne of Samarcand with absolute sovereignty; and I command you all to obey him, that my labours for so many years may not be lost."

Timur then ordered all the generals and great lords to come before him, and to promise, on their solemn oaths, that no one should be permitted to oppose the execution of his will. The lords melted into tears with grief and despair: and, falling on their faces, asked if they should send for Calil Sultan? "No," said Timur, "I have no other desire than to see Mirza Shah Rohk once more; but God will not have it so." The ladies in the anti-chamber were in the utmost consternation. Timur, turning to his children, said, "Remember to keep the public tranquillity; be valiant, that you may long enjoy a vast empire; and make equity and justice the rule of your actions. If discord should creep in among you, irreparable mischiefs will arise both in religion and government." Timur was pleased to have the doctor, Moulana Hebetulla, to read the word of God. At night, at about eight o'clock, Timur, remembering the promise of Mahomet, that he whose last words are, "there is no other god than God," shall surely enter Paradise, made profession of that belief. Then he gave up his soul to the angel Esrafiel *, who called him in these words:—

A. D. 1405. April 1.

the earth with the terror of my name, and makes kings and princes fall down before me. Can such works come from any but God? What am I but a poor miserable wretch, without either power or application equal to such great exploits?" At these words the tears fell from his eyes, neither could Mahmud refrain from weeping.

* Israel.

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"O soul that hopest in God, return to thy Lord with resignation. We belong to God, and must return to him."

Timur was seventy-one years of age, and had reigned thirty-six *.

This dismal night was passed in grief. Horror seized both on his friends and enemies. The princes of the blood cast their crowns on the earth; the empresses tore their faces and hair; and the emirs rent their robes; tempests, rains, and thunder did not cease through the night, as if heaven shared the affliction †.

The next morning, the body was embalmed with camphire, musk, and rose water; and, being wrapped in linen, was laid in a coffin of ebony. An express was sent to Gazna to Pir Mahomed, to beseech his presence: and Timur's death was not permitted to be published.

* Timur was, in many qualities, unquestionably a great man: politic, circumspect, temperate, generous, and just except in warfare. His admirers, like his descendants, (see Dow, Vol. II. p. 9), must deplore his fanatical murders. Religion, that cordial of the human mind, when it deviates into bigotry, never fails to confuse the understanding; and in general it inhumanizes the heart. But for this "*damned spot*," Timur, as a conqueror and a great monarch, might have commanded a distinguished fame on the page of history. He is, for the extent of his conquests, second only to Genghis Khan, having exceeded the Great Cyrus and Alexander.

The horror of all mankind, except those of his own sect, attaches to such a mischievous being during his existence: and probably, even most of the followers of Ali, at the present time, are softened into a more rational character; and the best portion of them look back on him, in that respect, with disapprobation. Timur has been called the *Destroying Prince:* but Genghis Khan, an *ambitious fanatic,* has a prior claim, and a juster right to that infernal pre-eminence.

† There is much similitude between the character and career of Cromwell and those of Timur:—their bigotry, talents, courage, *magnanimous resolution,* success, death, and immediate loss of their empires. "At the great stormy Monday, on which day he died, Cromwell (upon a revelation they say) told his physicians that he should now live to perfect the work. At his death, he had no sin that troubled him, but only his want of faith. I suppose he meant, as the divines of that party do, a full assurance of remission of sins and eternal salvation; and then it was no wonder he wanted it." John Barwick to Charles II. Letter LXXIX. Select Collection, 1755.

A general council was held, and it was resolved to continue the expedition to China, without waiting for the arrival of the new Emperor but Mirza Sultan Hussein, who had deserted at Damascus, and fought against Timur, disbanded a part of the left wing of the army; and, with a thousand horse, took the road to Samarcand, designing to surprise the inhabitants by a stratagem, that he might enter the city. Couriers were sent in all directions, and the whole army marched for Samarcand. The emirs and soldiers of Calil's court, at Tashkund, hearing of the defection of Hussein, swore allegiance to Calil Sultan, a grandson of Timur, and sovereign of Tashkund; and placed him on the throne.

On news of this, Timur's army, with the treasure, advanced towards Bochara. The empresses, with the heavy baggage, were admitted into Samarcand. Calil, having marched to Samarcand, was received, and took possession of the imperial palace; which contained all the treasures received in tribute, and the plunder of thirty-six years. He received the submission of the principal men of the state*. He ordered a funereal banquet; and the Alcoran to be read through. Timur's drum was beaten mournfully; and then broken to pieces. When Calil found himself fixed on the throne, he distributed gold like corn out of barns; and it was carried away by loads, to the amazement of the people.

April 16.

April 27.

At the death of the nephew of Hadgi Berlas, his empire reached from the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf; and from the Indus, (for he did not keep possession of Hindostan), to Damascus and the Grecian Archipelago. Including Zagatai, Timur had placed twenty-

* About a dozen emirs virtuously remonstrated. Pir Mahomed was the lawful heir, being the eldest son of Timur's eldest son, Gehanghir: he was now twenty-nine years of age.

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seven crowns upon his head. All his conquests were governed by his children, or his principal nobles, as viceroys. Hindostan, Asia Minor, Russia, Siberia, Gete, Bagdat, Georgia, &c. had been invaded and plundered. Egypt, and the Greek empire, had submitted to pay tribute.

It would require a large volume to describe the castles, cities, palaces, bridges, monasteries, mosques, hospitals, pleasure houses, and caravanserais which were built; and the rivers and canals which were dug by this pious Emperor.

Timur left thirty-six sons and grandsons*, one daughter, and fifteen grand-daughters. He was a rigid observer of his word; liberal and courteous to all, except those who refused to obey him. He passed his leisure hours in reading books of science and history; in playing at chess, in which game he made some alterations; and in the conversation of learned men. At his first rise to distinction, Asia was a prey to anarchy and bad government; at his death, justice and security were enjoyed throughout his dominions†.

The Mirza Calil, at the age of twenty-one, without striking a blow, was now in possession of the vastest and richest empire at that period in the universe.

During the absence of Timur in Georgia, the mirza had privately married Shadi Mulc, a great beauty, one of the concubines of the Emir Hadgi Seifeddin. The mirza's wife informed Timur; who ordered that Shadi Mulc should make her appearance: but the mirza

* The expense of Timur's family must have been immense. His eldest son received the subsistence of twelve thousand horsemen: his second son, of ten; his third son, of nine: his fourth son, Shah Rohk, of seven thousand, &c. and his grandsons' subsistence and lands, of from three to seven thousand horsemen each. —Institutes, p. 241.

† Sherefeddin. Dow's Hindostan. Modern Universal History. Gibbon. Purchas. De Guines, &c.

having concealed her, Timur, enraged, commanded a strict search.—Being found, she was condemned to die; and would have been put to death, but for the intercession of Mirza Pir Mehemed Gehanghir.

Calil having again concealed her in his house, and information thereof being transmitted to Timur, she was forthwith ordered to be executed.

The empress, Serai Mulc Canum, was affected at the deep anxiety and despair of the unhappy mirza, and trusting to Timur's love of his children, she prevailed on the emir, Noureddin, to inform Timur that the lady was pregnant by the mirza. On this account the order was reversed, and she was entrusted to the care of the Empress Bouyan Aga; that, after the lying in, she might bring up the child, and commit the lady to the care of the black eunuchs.

On the death of Timur, Calil, finding himself an absolute sovereign, being crowned on the 27th April, resigned every thing to the will of the beauty, whose charms were the subject of all his thoughts; and he took no pleasure but in her company. Calil became her slave, and breathed only by her permission; while she accounted every thing beneath her, and shewed no respect whatever either to the princes or nobles.

The state, in whatever concerned the sovereign authority, was now thrown into great disorder. The mirza squandered his wealth with such profusion, and chiefly among those who were afterwards the cause of his ruin; that, though all the riches of Hatem, and the tribe of Tai, did not equal the tenth part of one of the imperial treasuries, it was soon entirely gone. Strangers and upstarts were suddenly enriched and promoted to the first offices in the state; while persons of the greatest merit were totally disregarded. "Bestow not honour and riches," says the poet, "on him thou lovest, unless by degrees; lest he become insensible of the obligations he owes to you."

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Shadi Mulc, being inferior in rank to the deceased Emperor's wives, those empresses became jealous of her greatness; at which Shadi Mulc was very indignant, and persuaded Calil to force them to marry persons in every way unworthy of them. Calil behaved to these venerable ladies, whom he ought to have reverenced as his mother, with every disrespect. Even the soldiers were now disgusted with the new Emperor, and the affairs of the state fell into the utmost confusion.

Pir Mahomed had been put to death by the treachery of his own ministers. The Emperor Calil was seized by conspirators, and sent to Cashgar, where he passed his time in writing verses on the charms of his beloved empress *; while she herself was led in chains through the streets of Samarcand, exposed to the insults of a justly irritated populace. In 1409, Shah Rohk succeeded to the throne. Calil was sent to Chorassan where he soon died; and Shadi Mulc, who was sincerely attached to him, would not survive him, but struck a poignard into her bosom, and was buried in the same tomb †.

* Thus were the fruits of Timur's conquests puffed into the air like a feather; the amount of them can scarcely be guessed at. The lines of Hafez are more applicable to the prince than to the poet.

" Sweet maid, if thou would'st charm my sight,
And bid these arms thy neck infold,
That rosy cheek, that lily hand,
Would give thy *Calil* more delight
Than all Bocara's vaunted gold,
Than all the gems of Samarcand.

Sir Wm. Jones, Vol. IV. p. 449.

† Sherefeddin, and Histoire des Huns, Vol. V. p. 81.

EMBASSY FROM SHAH ROHK, SON OF TAMERLANE, TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA.

In the year of the Hegira 822, A. D. 1419, Shah Rohk sent Shadai Khoja as an ambassador to China. The party set out from Herat, and proceeded, by Balk, to Samarcand, where they found Mirza Ulug Bey, Shah Rohk's son, (the great astronomer)*, who sent other lords, and some Chinese, to join the embassy.

They passed through Tashkund, Jayram, Ash, and Ilduz, (supposed to be Yelduz), and found the ice to be two inches thick, though the sun was then in the summer solstice. They proceeded to Tarcan, Kamul, and thence to a place within twelve days of Sekju, the first city in Katay. The embassy consisted, in all, of eight hundred and sixty-seven persons. In the desert, on the borders, the whole embassy was magnificently feasted, and accommodated with beds, &c. even for all the servants.

On their arrival at Kamju, (Campion), they were entertained in a noble manner. At this place they saw a temple, each side of which was five hundred cubits long; and in the middle of it was an idol fifty feet in length, lying as if asleep. The hands and feet were nine feet long, and the head was twenty-one feet in circumference. There were other idols about him, each a cubit high, in attitudes as if alive. They saw ten more temples in the city; one with eight sides, and fifteen

* Ulug Bey had a quadrant, at Samarcand, one hundred and eighty feet high. His Astronomical Tables are found to differ very little from those afterwards constructed by Tycho Brahe. His principal work is a Catalogue of the Fixed Stars, from his own Observations, A. D. 1437. Enc. Brit. "Astronomy."

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stories in height, the chambers of which were varnished, and embellished with paintings. At the foot of this temple were figures of giants, which seemed to carry it upon their backs. It was of wood, gilt, and so rich that it appeared like massy gold. In a vault under the edifice, is an iron axis or pillar, which rests upon a plate of iron, and reaches from the bottom to the top. This, being moved with ease, sets the whole fabric in motion; and turns it round in such a surprising manner, that "all the carpenters, smiths, and painters in the world, ought to go thither to learn the secrets of their trades."

As the embassy approached the capital, the magnificence increased. They arrived at Karamuran, (on the banks of the Whang-ho), and crossed a firm even bridge of boats, fastened with iron chains attached to thick iron pillars. There is a still more superb temple here; and three public stews, full of very beautiful harlots. The women here being the handsomest in Katay, this is called—" The City of Beauty."

At Sad-in-fu, in a temple, was an image of brass gilt, fifty cubits high, called the image of a thousand hands, having a great number, and in the palm an eye.

On the arrival of the embassy at Khanbalik, (Pekin), they were conducted to the palace gate, where stood five elephants on each side. They then entered a beautiful court, where near a hundred thousand men were awaiting the Emperor; and three hundred thousand outside. Before the palace were two thousand musicians singing hymns, and two thousand guards armed with swords, halberds, &c. It was now just day-light, and drums, trumpets, flutes, hautbois, and bells began to sound. The throne was massy gold. The commanders of ten thousand, one thousand &c. and an infinite number of guards attended, in profound silence. The Emperor ascended by nine steps of silver. On each side of the throne, stood two beautiful maidens, with

their faces and necks bare, their hair tied at the top of their heads, and great pearls at their ears. They had a pen and paper; and recorded whatever the Emperor spoke. The seven ambassadors approached, and also seven hundred criminals, none of whom are put to death without the minutest enquiry; and the Emperor never condemns any but those he cannot save. The seven ambassadors were ordered to fall upon their knees, and knock the ground with their foreheads; but they only bowed the head three times. They delivered the letters of Shah Rohk, and other princes, (the grandeur and ceremonies are here described, but need not be repeated, being similar to the accounts which appear in this work from Marco Polo and Sir John Maundeville). In the court, were several thousands of different birds, which flew about, and fed upon the ground among the people, quite tamed and fearless. For five months there were occasional grand banquets.

On new year's day, people from Thibet and all parts arrived at the grand feast, (for which see in this volume Ch. II. Maundeville's and Polo's descriptions). The elephants on that day were adorned with a magnificence not to be expressed, with silver seats and standards, and armed men upon their backs. Fifty of them carried the musicians, these were preceded or followed by fifty thousand in profound silence and order*. Immense illuminations took place for many days.

* This must be considered as a mere oriental hyperbole, to mean a vast number. (Maundeville relates that Thiaut Khan had one hundred and thirty thousand registered minstrels, and one hundred and fifty thousand keepers of the elephants, beasts, and birds. See Ch. II.) We find the same expression in the travels of two Mahomedans through India, in the ninth century.

"These kingdoms border on the lands of a king called Rami, who is at war with the king of Harez and with the Balhara also. This king is not much considered for his birth, or the antiquity of his kingdom, but his forces are more numerous than those of the Balhara, (or king of kings, sovereign of Kanuge a city on the Ganges.—See notes to Abul Ghazi, Vol. II. pp. 473, 754), and even those of Harez and Tafek. They say that when he takes the field, he appears at the head of fifty thousand elephants." Harris's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 525.

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Debtors and all felons, except murderers, were discharged from the prisons.

The Emperor presented shankars, much esteemed birds, to those who had brought him horses: he then made rich presents to the ambassadors. Sending for them, he said he was going to hunt; and desired them to take out the shankars for their amusement; they would fly well, said his majesty; but the horses they had presented were not good.

The next morning the ambassadors were told that the horse sent by Shah Rohk had thrown the Emperor; and that his majesty had commanded them to be put in chains. They were near the Emperor's quarters, and were ordered to wait. His majesty was persuaded not to put them to death, as it would be violating the law of nations; and they were pardoned.

The Emperor mounted the large black horse sent him by Ulug Bey, and had a parade of guards about him. The ambassadors were ordered to alight near him. He said, addressing them, "the rarities, beasts, and other presents sent to me in future, must be better chosen; the horse I rode is so vicious, and I am so aged, that I have been thrown, and am much hurt in the hand; but have assuaged the pain by laying gold upon it."

Shadai Khoja apologized to his majesty, and represented that it was the horse which the great Timur had ridden upon; and that Shah Rohk had sent it to his majesty, as the horse of the greatest value in all his dominions. The Emperor, being satisfied with this answer, called for a shankar and let it fly at a crane; but it did not seize the prey, and his majesty gave it three strokes upon the head. Then sitting upon a chair, and placing his feet upon another, the Emperor gave a shankar * to Sultan Shah, and one to Sultan Ahmed; but

* It is an old custom among the Tartars, to give a fine falcon as an extraordi-

none to Shadai Khoja: he then remounted his horse, and returned to the city; where he was received with a thousand acclamations. The Emperor being ill, his son dismissed the ambassadors with honour, and they reached Herat after an absence of two years*.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE GYPSIES.

The Gypsies have puzzled the world almost as much as the Mammoths: but the history of Tamerlane's invasion of Hindostan, appears to afford the true solution of their origin. "Mr. Grellman, in his dissertation, supposes the Gypsies to be Hindoos of the lowest class, and grounds this hypothesis, chiefly, on the similarity of the gypsy-language to the Hindostanee, shewing many words to be the same; though many are *different*. He conjectures that they fled from India on Timur's invasion; but he acknowledges that it is a mere surmise†."

Sir William Jones suggests, that, in some piratical expedition, they might have landed in Arabia or Africa, and rambled to Egypt and Europe. "The motley language of the Gypsies, of which Mr. Grellman exhibits a copious vocabulary, contains so many Sanscrit words,

nary present, hawking being one of their favorite amusements. In the province of Dauria, near the Amoor, there are great numbers of milk white falcons, from whence China is supplied.

The Tartars in Siberia make use of three sorts.—The first is called in their tongue, Hkartscheg Aholphei, or *Tzungar*, which is the best and most beautiful kind; it is pretty large, ash coloured, and some are speckled white. See Strahlenberg, p. 362. Abul Ghazi, Vol. I. p. 37, says, this bird is white except the feet, eyes, and bill, which are red.

* Astley's Collection, Vol. IV.

† Rees's Encyc. "Egyptians."

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that their Indian origin can hardly be doubted. The authenticity of that vocabulary seems established by a multitude of gypsy-words, as *bhu*, earth; *cashth*, wood; and a hundred more, for which the collector of them could find no parallel in the vulgar dialect of Hindostan; though we know them to be pure Sanscrit, scarce changed in a single letter. Near the mouth of the river Sindhu, is a district named by Nearchus, in his journal, *Sangada*, which M. D'Anville supposes, justly, to be the seat of the Sanganians, a piratical nation, well known at present in the west of India. Mr. Malet, the resident at Poonah, procured for me the Sanganian letters, which are a sort of Nagari, and a specimen of their language, which is apparently derived from the Sanscrit: nor can I doubt, from the description of their persons and manners, that they are the outcast Hindoos. It seems agreed, that the Gypsies passed the Mediterranean immediately from Egypt*."

The Gypsies are found in most countries of Europe. The writer has seen them in Moscow. "Descending the western branch of the Ural mountains, I passed a gang of gypsies with their usual excentricities, and a larger gang of convicts; and reached Kimgour, formerly the capital of a province, and previous to that a favorite place of the Tartars†."

We have seen, in the chapter on Timur's wars, what immense numbers of Hindoos were captured and brought away from India: not only artisans and others, for the Emperor's service, but a hundred and fifty, (men, women, and children), for an officer; and even as many as twenty for a private soldier. Timur's numerous elephants of war, besides those brought away by himself and others as beasts of burthen, and for presents to the nobility and chiefs of the

* Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. I. p. 119.

† Captain Cochrane's Pedestrian Journey, p. 540.

provinces, were, no doubt, under the management of Indians*. In all the warlike expeditions, Timur, after he had invaded India, was attended by his elephants, and also by his hunting establishment: he must therefore have had a great number of dogs; and the care of those animals is one of the occupations of the pariah Hindoos. Bajazet was taunted by Timur, for his vanity in maintaining *twelve thousand* dog-keepers. Timur, very probably, in that capacity employed a considerable number of Indians.

After Timur's death, A. D. 1405, his country was for a long while in the utmost confusion, and with an empty treasury. Ralph Volaterius affirms, that the Gypsies first proceeded from among the *Uxii*, a people of Persia. Munster relates, that the Gypsies made their first appearance in Germany, in 1417, in pitiful array; though they affected quality, and travelled with a train of hunting dogs after them, like nobles. Pope Pius II. supposes them to have migrated from the country of the Zigi, near Circassia.

The Gypsies are called Cingani, or Zingani; Egyptians; Bohemians; Saracens; and Tartars†. They *are*, according to Sir William Jones's remarks, Sanganians. They first entered Europe from Tartary, Syria, and Egypt; both of the latter kingdoms were at that time under one monarch, Farrudge, son of Barkok. When they reached *Bohemia*, the king gave them passports to proceed to other countries‡.

Thus, the various denominations by which the Gypsies have been known, are satisfactorily accounted for; and little, if any, doubt can re-

* Upon each elephant were two-and-thirty strong men, besides the Indian that ruled him. 1 Maccabees, Ch. VI. 37.

† Rees's Encyc. "Egyptians."

‡ "En ces années (1417) il commença de courir en Allemagne certaines bandes de vagabonds. On les nommoit Tartares et Zigens." Mezeray.

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main, that they were the Indians brought away as slaves from Hindostan, in such multitudes, by Timur; and who, during the poverty and confusion* caused by the Emperor Calil's folly, migrated to Europe: many of them stealing the dogs, in order to procure a livelihood by the chace, in wild countries; and by poaching, in those that were cultivated.

Being of the lowest cast in their own country, and *infidels* in Persia, the Gypsies were probably despised and ill treated, as slaves: they would therefore naturally expect a better fate among any other people than those who they felt had so cruelly oppressed them and their native land.

With regard to their having entered Europe from Egypt, as well as from other countries, it is very probable, that, when they had resolved on deserting, they looked towards Egypt in preference; from the circumstances of the inhabitants somewhat resembling themselves, and the climate and religion being in many respects similar to those of India; nor is it impossible but that, in their ignorance, (very excusable, as the royal pupil of Aristotle mistook the Indus for the Nile†)—they might imagine Egypt to be part of their native country: but, discovering their mistake, and, probably, being refused protection, they wandered they knew not whither.

* "And I ordained that in every kingdom which should be conquered, the mendicants of that country should be gathered together; and that subsistence and daily bread should be allowed unto them; and that they should be made pensioners, and beg no more. And, if after they were made pensioners, they continued the practice of asking alms, I commanded that they should be sold into foreign countries, or expelled from the realm; that the race of beggars might become extinct in my dominions." Timur's Inst. p. 361.

† Strabo, Geog. lxv. Arrian, B. VI. Ch. I.

Many of the Gypsies appear to have fled to the mountains of Curdistan, where they are called *Kara-Shee,* or the Black Race. Their persons, manners, and customs, are described at length by Sir R. K. Porter, who passed through a large encampment of these singular people*. There are many of the Gypsy-tribe at Voronetz, on the river Don†. The Gypsies themselves are perhaps not in the least acquainted with their own origin.

* Porter's Travels in Georgia, Babylonia, &c. Vol. II. p. 528.

† Rees's Encyc. "Woronetz."

CHAPTER V.

Of Siberia.——Described in Summer.——Fertility.——Wild animals.——Magnificent scenery.——Mongol sovereigns.——Coronation of the Grand Khan Keyuc at Olougyourt.——Invaded from China and India beyond the Ganges.——Immense armies stationed on the Irtish, and battles in the Thirteenth Century.——Invasions of Tamerlane, Fourteenth Century.——Tombs; Elephants' bones, golden Chess-boards and men, golden plates &c. found in them.——Note on the Conquest of Russia by Batou, grandson of Genghis.——Tamerlane invades Russia.——His terrible battle with the Khan of Capschac described.

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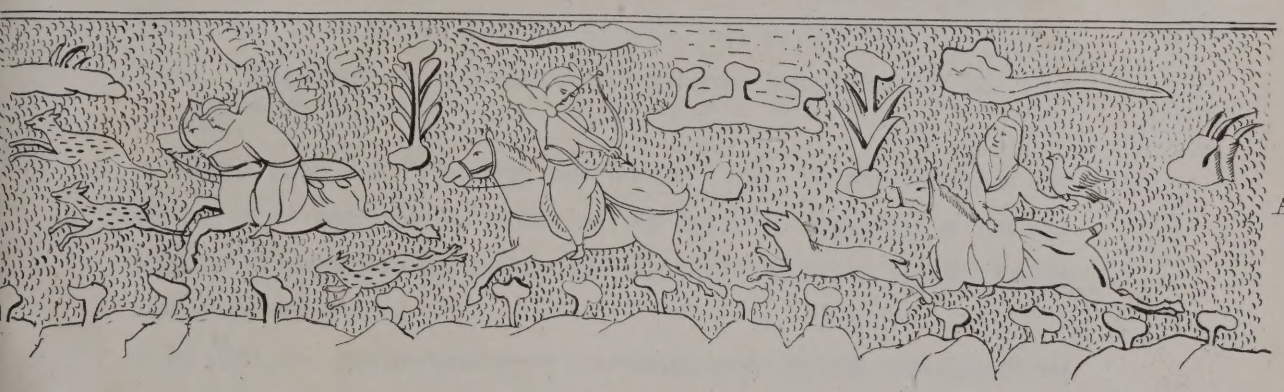
SIBERIA was not known to the Russians till the middle of the sixteenth century. A Russian merchant named Strogonoff had established salt-works in the government of Archangel, and traded with the north-western Siberians, for the valuable furs which they brought to him; and by which he acquired a considerable fortune. The Czar Ivan Vassilivitch II. sent some troops to endeavour to open a commerce with the natives; and one of the chiefs consented to pay an annual tribute of a thousand sables; but that chief being taken prisoner by Kutchum Khan, a descendant of the great Genghis, and

A

Found in a Tomb *in Siberia*



A

TARTARS TRAVELLING

Published April 11th 1826

sovereign of Sibir, there was no further intercourse till the year 1577, when Timofeyef Yermak, a Don Cossack, being defeated by the Czar's troops, in the province of Cazan, retired eastward with a few thousands of his adherents. He crossed the Ural mountains. He discovered and attacked the Mogul monarch of Sibir, whom he defeated; and Yermak gained a rich booty, in jewels, furs &c. He, after a while, travelled to Moscow, was favourably received by the Czar, and supplied with succours, with which he returned to his companions at Sibir: and in an action with the Moguls, he was drowned, in the year 1584. The conquest was shortly afterwards completed by his successors.

Siberia is so rich in zoology and botany, that, as Mr. Pennant observes, the discovery of America has scarcely imparted a greater number of objects to the naturalist; the mineralogy is equally fertile and interesting.

In 1621, the first archbishop, whose name was Cyprian, was appointed to reside at Sibir*.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, all Siberia was subjected. No known part of the earth is so cold as that country—

" Our infant Winter sinks,
Divested of his grandeur, should our eye,
Astonish'd, shoot into the Frigid Zone.
Wide roams the Russian exile. Nought around
Strikes his sad eye, but deserts lost in snow,
And heavy loaded groves; and solid floods,
That stretch athwart the solitary vast,
Their icy horrors to the frozen main.

* Levesque Histoire de Russie; and Tooke's Hist. of Russia, Vol. I.

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Yet cherish'd there, beneath the shining waste,
The furry nations harbour.
Rough tenant of these shades, the shapeless bear,
With dangling ice all horrid, stalks forlorn."—*Thomson.*

Such is the general, and, perhaps, sometimes the only impression on the minds of many persons respecting these gigantic regions; and as most travellers have passed through them, while the ground was covered with snow; every reader is too well acquainted with the description of Siberia in winter, for it to be requisite to repeat it here; but a space comprising a hundred and thirty degrees of longitude; and from the latitude of Normandy, to within fifteen degrees of the north-pole; and more extensive than all Europe, must, of necessity, be very various in climate and productions. The following extracts, from some intelligent travellers, show that it is a most magnificent and abundant country, in very many places, and much higher in the north than is generally imagined.

"The severe winters are rapidly succeeded by summers of such intense heat, that the Tungusians of the province of Yakutsk go almost naked. Towards the frozen ocean the sun is continually above the horizon in that season, and the vegetables and fruits of the earth are extremely quick in their growth.

The Russians are supplied with corn from the southern part of Siberia, where the soil is surprisingly fertile.

The countries east of Baikal to the river Argun are remarkably fruitful and pleasant*."

At Narym (Lat 59° 5′) there is plenty of sterlet and other fine fish, too numerous to mention. Near the town are a few corn-fields, and gar-

* See Rees's Cyc. "Siberia."

den grounds, abounding with greens and roots. Here, says Mr. Bell, I met Mr. Borlutt, a native of Flanders, who had been a major in the Swedish service, and was sent to this place a prisoner of war. He was a very ingenious gentleman, and had a particular turn for mechanics. The commandant treated him more like a friend than a prisoner; which indeed was the case of most of those unfortunate gentlemen, whom the fate of war had sent to this country. His Czarish Majesty, well considering their circumstances, sent them to a plentiful country, where they could live at their ease till peace was restored.

At Jenesai, the country is pleasant and fertile. On the first of August the barley was all reaped, and the people were cutting their oats. This is early so far to the north (Lat 58° 16′), and must proceed from the heat of the summer and the snow lying so long*."

* * * *

" The Ostiacs, though not a civilized people, are far from being barbarous. A single Russian may travel among them to purchase furs without fear of violence. They are remarkably honest, and are punctual in bringing the tribute of furs for the Czar. Many of them are fair, and resemble the people of Finland. They are stout fellows: two of them, with their bows and arrows, a short spear, and a little dog, will attack the largest bear. They supplied us with plenty of fish, and wild fowl of various sorts, for a little tobacco and a dram of brandy; and they ask no more, not knowing the use of money.

* * * *

* Journey to Pekin from St Petersburg, A. D. 1719, (nine thousand five hundred and sixty-seven versts, or about six thousand three hundred and seventy-eight British miles, by Mr. B's. route on his return).

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On the journey to Irkoutsk, says Mr. Bell, I called on General Kannifer, at Elimsk, who had been adjutant-general to Charles XII. He had a musk deer, of which there are many in Siberia, so tame that it followed him like a dog, and leaped upon the table to eat the crumbs. * * * Along the tall thick woody banks of the Lena, there is abundance of game and wild beasts. The natives of Yakutsk differ little from the Tungusians in person or way of life. In summer they make hay enough to feed their cattle in winter. * * * We arrived on the ice, March 14, at Balaganski, on the Angara: on each bank it is a fine champaign country, with tall woods, beautiful and extensive prospects, well peopled villages, corn fields, and fruitful plains, and every where great abundance of fish. The Burats were formerly subject to a prince of the Monguls; they are honest and sincere people, and have plenty of cattle: the wild goats have long thick horns, brown shaggy coats, and are twice the size of ours; the sheep have broad tails, and the mutton is excellent. For their horses, cattle, goats, and sheep, they make no provision of fodder: but leave them to the open fields, the snow being seldom deep in these parts. They have a high priest called Delai Lama. * * * March 17—The heat of the sun was intense, and the snow suddenly disappeared: in four days we passed from a cold winter to a warm spring, and we quitted our sledges. The Burats killed some hares with arrows.

At the falls of the Angara, and about lake Baikal, there are such astonishing scenes of nature as are not, I believe, to be equalled in the known world. On the south side of the lake, the country is very pleasant, the winters short, and the snow does not lie above six or eight weeks. There is plenty of all kinds of game, deer, bears, wolves, &c. The Mongols, even the prince and high priest, live constantly in tents, and remove as convenience requires; which I must confess is a very pleasant life, in such a mild and dry climate. * * * We

killed in these parts five large elks, four stags, twenty antelopes, some large bustards, a dozen roebucks, wolves, hares, &c. Siberia is an excellent country, and abounds with all things necessary for the use of man and beast. The noblest rivers in the world*, and store of such fine fish, as are seldom found in other countries. And as to woods furnished with all sorts of game and wild fowl, no country can exceed it. It contains no high mountains, except towards China, where are pleasant hills and fruitful vallies, and there are few places, where life might be passed more agreeably than in some parts of Siberia †. * * *

In February and March, the Yakutes cut down the young pine trees, while the sap is rising, take off the inner bark, and dry it for their winter provision; they beat it into fine powder, and boil it in milk, with dried and powdered fish. They shift their habitations like the Tobolskians. They bury their dead various ways: the most eminent make choice of a fine tree, as their burial spot: some of their moveables are buried with them. Their language is like that of the Crimea and Tobolsk Tartars ‡. * * *

The quantity of hay collected for the cattle (near Yakutsk) is prodigious §. * * *

"The Baikal Sea, or the Holy Sea, is about four hundred miles English from north to south; and in breadth, from fifteen to fifty miles; it is

* The Lena is five thousand versts in length, (about three thousand three hundred and thirty miles English).

† Bell of Antermony. At Telinginsk a Mongol chief, named Taysha, a subject of the Czar, dined with the ambassador. He was a merry old man, near four score. but so vigorous that he mounted his horse with agility. His five sons and attendants treated him with equal respect as a king, and would not sit in his presence. In his youth, he had often fought against the Chinese, whom he held in great contempt. One of the company, who was fat, asked the chief what he should do to be as lean as he was? "Eat less and work more," replied the old man.

‡ Strahlenberg, p. 382.

§ Captain Cochrane, p. 443.

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surrounded with high and, mostly, bare mountains. Towards the latter end of December, it is usually frozen over, and the ice breaks up in the beginning of May. The water is uncommonly clear. The lake is subject to violent storms: it abounds in fish, and contains plenty of seals §.

"On the 10th of May 1693, we arrived at Irkutsk on the Angara; and found lake Baikal still frozen. On the camels we put boots shod for the ice. In the breaks of the ice, there are numbers of black seals.

After crossing a barren mountainous country, we arrived at Nertschinsk, on the 20th, where there are grass grounds to feed their camels, horses, and cattle. The environs produce white and yellow lilies, red and white pionies of a charming scent and of several sorts; lavender, thyme, rosemary, and many odoriferous plants, unknown in other countries. There are black sables of exquisite beauty.

We left Nertschinsk and proceeded to Mongol Tartary. From the river Kalar to the Jalischian mountains, the vallies are wholly covered with fine grass: the mountains are stocked with all sorts of herbs and flowers. The country abounds with large harts, roebucks, wild sheep, in herds of many hundreds: wild geese, ducks, turkies, (bustards ?), partridges. On the river Jala are fine oak and lime trees, and small hazel bushes covered with nuts. * * * We now reached the first Chinese guard. The charming banks of the river Jala, southward, is a perfect paradise; beautiful pastures, silver streams, the pleasantest woods in the world, fine towering hills, and, for a mile and a half on each side, a perfect warren of wild game, harts, tigers, panthers, wild swine, extraordinarily beautiful partridges, the feathers of which are of several colours, and their tails about an ell long: they are very like pheasants in shape, size, and taste: they harbour in plain fields, in the

§ Tooke, Vol. I. p. 241.

long grass, and in low nut bushes: in their flight they clap their wings as loud as a stork.

After four days travelling without seeing a house, we came to an old ruined city, encompassed with a quadrangular mud wall, a German mile in its whole extent. In six days we reached another old desolate city, called Taimingzin, fortified with a square wall. Carved upon the stones, there were several images of great personages or kings, as big as life, sitting with their feet under them: and queens folding their hands, with crowns upon their heads with rays or lustres, which seemed to hint that this tower was built by Christians. Other parts represent warriors with pikes, in the Chinese manner, and the king, bare-headed, with a sceptre in his hand: the by-standers have diabolical visages. The proportions of these images are so exact, that they look like the work of Europeans. Several heaps of bricks lay about, and stone statues, as big as life, of men, idols, lions, and tortoises. The bulwarks were extraordinarily large and high. This great city had but four entrances, into which ran multitudes of hares*.

* The number of tigers, and the quantity of game, in these parts of Tartary, between China and Siberia, must be prodigious.

On the sixteenth of June, 1689, Father Gerbillon mentions that, on the embassy to Nertshinsk from Pekin, they saw many thousands of wild yellow goats on the banks of the Kerlon.

The tigers, says Du Halde, are surprisingly large, of a fallow-red and striped with black: some are white, with black and grey stripes. The wild camels are so swift, that the hunters can seldom reach them with their arrows. The han-ta-han resembles the elk, they delight in boggy ground, and some we killed were bigger than the largest ox.

On a party with the Emperor, Pere Verbiest saw above a thousand stags, enclosed in one circle. On this journey, bears, wild boars, and above sixty tigers were killed: a wild mule, of a yellow colour, was seen; two or three hundred hares, and vast numbers of wolves and foxes were taken in one day: partridges rose in flights like starlings.

The Emperor's horses, and those of the grandees, are as large and handsome as those of Europe. The Emperor tires eight or ten horses every day.

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The Chinese relate that many centuries past, Ungkhan, a Tartar king, governed here, but was conquered by a Chinese king *.

On the expedition, in 1691, the Emperor's quarters contained four enclosures: in the quarter for the grandees, were the trumpets, drums, music, four elephants sumptously harnessed, and all the ensigns of imperial dignity, for the ceremony of receiving homage of the Kalka princes and the Grand Lama.

On the 4th of June, we killed above fifty yellow goats: we roused a tiger; it took shelter on a hill in a thicket; the dogs barked around him, he sprang forth, the Emperor followed him closely, fired twice, and killed him.

In September, 1692, the Emperor sent for five hundred Korchin Mongols, who are excellent hunters. We killed eighty-two large stags and roebucks, one stag weighed upwards of five hundred pounds. On the 23rd, we killed fifty stags: the Emperor's horse fell as he was pursuing a roebuck, but his Majesty was not hurt.

On the 25th, we pursued a bear, the Emperor pierced his flank with an arrow, the bear gave a dreadful roar, and endeavouring to pull out the arrow, broke it to pieces; his Majesty dispatched him with a half pike: he was six feet from the head to the root of the tail, his hair long, black, shining, and very fine.

In June, 1696, the Emperor's troops gained a victory over the Eleuths, on the banks of the Kerlon: among the spoil were five thousand camels, seventy thousand sheep, &c.

On one day in this year, the hunting party killed one thousand one hundred and twenty-five hares, and every day a great number of pheasants, and hares. See Du Halde, Vol. II. from page 254 to 360.

The Emperor, Kam-hi, was still living, when Mr. Bell was at Pekin, with the ambassador Ismailoff, sent by the Czar Peter. Kam-hi was then sixty years on the throne, and sixty eight years of age: he still retained a sound judgment, and his senses were entire: he was good natured, affable, and more sprightly than many of his sons. The Emperor's general of the artillery assured Mr. B., and it was confirmed by Kam-hi himself, that gunpowder had been used by them in fire-works, above two thousand years; but that it was a late introduction in war. Mr. B. says, the fire-works outdid common fame, and far surpassed the performances exhibited at St Petersburg by the best artists in Europe.

* Isbrandt's Ides, in Le Bruyn, and in Harris's Voyages, Vol. II. 938. There can be no doubt but that these cities were Caracorum and Olougyourt. See the Chapter on Genghis. The Nestorians had places of worship here, and there were artists from Europe. With respect to the rays round the heads of the queens, " Genghis's flatterers had the insolence to make him pass for the Son of God, but

"We reached Kara Katon, encompassed with oaken palisadoes as a defence from tigers and leopards; multitudes of them, and also wild boars and deer, harbouring in the grass and woods; so that no one dare travel at night. All the camels, asses, and cattle, have bells about their necks, to frighten the beasts. To this place the Emperor comes to hunt. We observed here a sort of heron with a neck and breast white, and the wings and tail of a bright scarlet; the flesh firm and good: also another bird as big as a parrot, with a crooked bill, a tail an ell long, and checkered with all sorts of fine colours. We arrived at the boundaries on the 3d of August.

* * * *

On the 19th of February, 1694, the envoy set out on his return from Pekin. He had left a number of camels and horses at Numa, of which only eight hundred remained; the rest having been killed by bad food: others were accordingly provided.

The party crossed a desert marshy country, and lost eighteen camels in one day in the bogs. Near the river Gan, they killed fifty wild deer.

From Argun, where there is a silver mine which the people of Dauria and Nieuchen formerly made use of, to Nertschinsk, is ten days' journey on camels. This fine country is full of small rivers and

his mother, more modest, said only, that he was the Child of the Sun. But not being bold enough to aver, that she was personally beloved by that glorious body, she pretended to derive this fabulous honour from Genghis's ninth predecessor, Buzengir, the root of the Mogul Emperors; whose mother, when a widow, lived a retired life. Being accused of a crime, (pregnancy), she was carried before the judge: she said, that she had not had conversation with any man; but that when upon her bed, a light appeared, and penetrated three times into her body. De la Croix, p. 9.

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the most beautiful flowers: in the hills and vales, the grass is three feet high*." On this journey many hardships were suffered from fatigue, marshes, and hunger; and in a desert the grass was some how set on fire, and burnt about a dozen of the foremost row of their tents, with the most astonishing rapidity. Great quantities of their goods were consumed, and fourteen men miserably burnt.

From the 54th to the 57th degree of latitude, and including the south part of Siberia, and all Dauria, the air is pretty temperate, and produces all manner of fruits and vegetables, and corn in abundance: there are few mountains, forests, or morasses; many rivers and lakes; all sorts of venison, wild-fowl, fish, cray-fish; and much honey and cattle: in short, the inhabitants are in want of nothing but wine†.

The regions of Nertshinsk present numerous forests of the pinus sylvestris, larch, birch, firs, and cedars‡, which produce boards near four feet wide§. The nuts of the cedar are in such abundance, as to be exported to all parts of northern Siberia.

The sublime scenery on the approach to Baikal may be considered as one of the noblest sights in the world; and that also upon the banks of the Ingoda not less delightful, when contrasted with the beautiful and fertile pastures every where around‖.

There is a curious *lusus naturæ* on the Shamane promontory of lake

* Isbrandts Ides, in Harris, Vol. II. p. 938. See also his Travels, in Le Bruyn. While the envoy was at Pekin, the Emperor had four animals, which he had received from an island in the Eastern Sea. They were as big as ordinary horses, and each had two sharp horns prominent before. The missionaries had never seen such before. The envoy had not time to go to the Emperor's park to inspect them.

† Strahlenberg, pp. 182, 354. Chappe D'Auteroche, p. 251.

‡ Rees's Encyc. "Nertschinsk and Siberia."

§ Strahlenberg, p. 346.

‖ Capt. Cochrane, pp. 465, 474, 477.

Baikal; namely, three rocks adjacent to each other, upwards of two hundred feet in height above the water's level. Their tops resemble human heads with caps on them: of the middlemost, the nose is seven feet in length; in the slit of the mouth, two families of sea-gulls are commodiously lodged: even the eye-brows are not wanting; but there is no trace of an ear. The Tunguses revere these rocks as the sea-god Dianda, with his two subordinate deities: he is able to save any Tunguse from being drowned, or to cause a good draught of fishes.

Fifteen hundred or two thousand porpoises (although the water is fresh) are annually captured, by being shot or pierced with javelins, through the holes in the ice: sturgeon, quab, carp, trout, pike, and vast quantities of the omul, are produced in the lake.

Such numbers of birds of prey, mews, herons, gulls, &c. arrive in April, which feed on the omuls, *(salmo migratorius)*, that it is difficult to pass along the rocks, their nests are so numerous. There are rein deer on the north shore; the wild boars are silver-grey, and scarce. The woods are overrun with bears, which serve for food; also with wolves, elks, stags, roebucks, sables; ermines so numerous, that a contract for twenty thousand may be completed in two days; squirrels, and white hares. There are many islands in this great lake; on which grow pines, poplars, beech, and willows*.

In the south part of Siberia there is a steppe, six or seven hundred versts long, where there are few rivers, but very fertile. One may ride several days through vast fields, full of cherry trees two or three feet high. They are prevented from growing higher by the negligence of travellers, who leave their fires burning; and the grass, being

* Rees's Encyc. "Baikal."

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long and dry, catches fire, and burns for thirty or forty versts, with such rapidity as to endanger the traveller.

The cherries are red and handsome, but sour: transplanted they become good. There are in this forest tulips, red roses, others like damask roses; asparagus, larger and finer than ours; onions, marjoram, thyme, succory, sage, endive or white succory; and other flowers, herbs, and roots, which we with great care raise in our gardens: the turnip is frequently met with there. In Samoyedia, they have good parsnips and carrots *.

Near the river Wytzera, they generally kill, annually, four hundred losses, or elks †.

At Jenesai, (lat. 58° 30′), corn, butchers' meat, and poultry, abound. It is too cold for fruit, except gooseberries and strawberries. The inhabitants of Fugunia, farther down the river, send out ships annually to catch whales.

At Shamanskoi, on the river Ilay, there is a great fall or cataract, half a league in extent, which is terrible to behold, and is heard at the distance of three German leagues. The tops of the rocks that cause the falls are so covered with odoriferous plants and flowers, that the circumambient air is filled with their fragrance ‡.

The Tunguses, both men and women, go naked in the summer, except a leathern girdle, and carry a vessel full of smoking wood, to keep off the insects which swarm on the river Tungusa. In winter they wear skins, having no use of linen or woollen. In hunting they wear the

* Memoirs of a French Gentleman, who had served in the Russian army: banished in the reign of Alexis, about 1670. Harris's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 483.—At Krasnaia Sloboda, there is abundance of asparagus of extraordinary height, and delicious flavour. Encyc. Brit. "Siberia."

† Strahlenberg, p. 361.

‡ Pere Avril, p. 182.

skin of the rein deer with the horns on; when they glide along the grass, and are sure to dispatch the game with their arrows. The method of the Burats is to surround a certain limit and to close in the game by degrees. They go on horseback, and few escape their heavy broad arrows. Their country swarms with fallow deer, stags, musk deer with tusks, rein deer, bears, wild sheep by thousands upon the mountains, and wolves.

Those who buy camels of them, pay about fifty-five livres each, in silks, red cloth, ingots of gold or silver. Their beeves have very thick hair. * * *.

Makofskoi on the Ket, abounds with heath-game, pheasants, and partridges: it is a pleasure to see them in flocks in a morning and evening, drinking on the banks of the river, where you may kill what number you please. There are here red and black gooseberries strawberries, and raspberries. We had scarcely left this village, on the 7th of October, when it began to freeze*.

The Ket is overshadowed with trees, and very dismal; the banks abound with wild beasts, the black currants are the largest and best I ever ate or saw. I was told, the bears feed much on them†.

The last stage in approaching Krasnoyarsk, is richly luxuriant on both sides of the Jenesai, which rolls its picturesque course over a rich and well cultivated soil. The vicinity may boast situations for the dwellings of a prince, peasant, or philosopher. The extremes of weather, are from 32° of heat, to 40° of frost, by Reaumur‡.

What can surpass the scene at Malaya Narimka I know not;

* Isb. Ides. † Bell, Ch. XIII.

‡ By Fahrenheit 104° and 58° below 0.—"December 7, 1786, at Usting Veliki, latitude 60° 50′, the quicksilver froze to a solid mass, so as to bear beating with a hammer in a warm room, several times, before any pieces flew off from it. Reaumur's thermometer fell in one day, from 40° to 51°." Vide Tooke, Vol. I. p. 32.

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some of the loftiest granite mountains, enclosing the most luxuriant vallies in the world: all abandoned to wild beasts, to constitute a neutral territory*."

* * * *

The Jenesai thawed on the 8th of April, and in three weeks the country resumed its verdure†. These districts are so fertile, that, by leaving the ground fallow the third year, it continues bearing summer corn, and winter rye fifteen years and upwards. Winter wheats are not known‡.

In the woods near Tomsk are oxen with a high shoulder and flowing tail, like a horse; not so large as the urus: there are wild asses, the hair waved white and brown, like a tiger; and chesnut-coloured wild horses, which are not tameable, The town of Jenesai is pleasant, and populous. There is a market for furs of all sorts, one skin of a black fox being worth five hundred crowns or more. On the 1st of March, we saw five or six hundred hares, as white as snow. The Tunguses are descended from the ancient inhabitants, and worship the sun and moon: they will attack the fiercest bears§.

"At Tobolsk, we dug four feet deep without finding the earth frozen, and I then thrust a sword into it with the utmost ease to the hilt. It is certain that the ground at Tobolsk thaws entirely: this made me cautious of advancing facts from hearsay. The numerous mistakes of travellers arise from credulity, rather than from a want of truth‖."

The country about Tobolsk is well peopled. A hundred weight of barley flower costs sixteen copecks, (one hundred copecks make a

* Capt. Cochrane, pp. 152, 173.
† Chappe d'Auteroche, p. 247.
‡ Tooke, Vo. III. p. 268.
§ Bell of Antermony, pp. 212, 229.
‖ Chappe d'Auteroche.

ruble), a hog thirty-five copecks, a sturgeon six copecks, an ox six or seven florins. This country produces a number of elks, stags, deer, hares, pheasants, partridges, and swans; besides all other sorts of game, cheaper than butchers' meat.

At Samoiarski-jam, the Irtish, to the south-east, is bordered by lofty mountains, crowned with cedars; and the land on the other side, to the north-west, is low and full of pasture-grounds, where are great black bears, wolves, and foxes, both red and grey: some of the finest grey furs in all Siberia are found here. In the winter, the snow is sometimes a fathom deep *.

The woods and fields about Tobolsk, are stored with the coq-bruyere, coq-limoge, gelinots, ptarmigans, partridges, woodcocks, snipes; and no country in the world can produce such numbers and variety of water fowl: they are so numerous that three or four hundred may be caught in a night, by placing nets in the openings between two rivulets, at a hole cut through the coppice, and lighting a small fire.

There are lynxes, ermines, sables, martins, otters, elks; incredible numbers of hares, bears, and deer of all kinds: the greatest abundance of fish, wheat, rye, barley, oats, &c. †.

"I hired a meadow eight versts from Tobolsk, for six grosses, (a gross is two-pence), and, for that sum and the labour, I procured five hay stacks, each containing twenty-two waggon loads for two horses ‡."

The view of the country in the neighbourhood of Tobolsk is really sublime; and, notwithstanding its surrounding but distant deserts, is a very enviable retreat §.

At Tomsk, there are magazines of rich and valuable commodities, brought thither by all the various nations inhabiting the heart of Asia,

* Isb. Ides. † Bell of Antermony, p. 191; and Isb. Ides.

‡ Strahlenberg, p. 360. § Captain Cochrane, p. 118.

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and with whom no other nations of Europe have intercourse: thither, and to Tobolsk, are brought the manufactures of China, Corea, and all the nations to the north, or north-east of the river Amoor *.

The Tartars at Tobolsk live mostly on the hill. Along the banks of the river are several large Tartar streets occupied by the ancient inhabitants. They enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and the privileges of trade. Their houses are very cleanly, they are courteous and honest. January 9, 1720, we lodged in a Tartar hut, (near Tara): we warmed ourselves at a good fire on the hearth: they use no stoves as the Russians do. They dress their victuals in an iron kettle, and are very neat and cleanly both in their persons and houses. The walls of the houses are built with beams of wood and moss, the roofs are raised. A square hole is cut out, and a piece of ice (which is now and then renewed) is formed to fit the place exactly, which lets in a good light. In one end of the apartment, is a bench eighteen inches high and six feet broad, covered with mats or skins of wild beasts, upon which the family sit by day and sleep by night.

The Tartars of the Baraba are poor and miserable, and are obliged to pay a tribute of furs and skins of wild beasts both to the Czar and to the Kontaysha of the Calmucs, who both consider them as subjects. "Considering the extent of Siberia, and the many advantages it possesses, I am of opinion that it is sufficient to contain all the nations in Europe, where they might enjoy a more comfortable life than many of them do at present †."

* Russian Discoveries. Harris's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 1033.

† Bell's Journey to Pekin, Ch. II. and XIV. with respect to the window, Strahlenberg says, p. 454—"Windows, throughout all Siberia, are made of isinglass, called in Latin *lapis specularis*, of which there are two sorts: the white and the brown; and they are both found in Russia and Siberia in great plenty." (Mica is meant, Isinglass-stone was a name given to that substance. The other Isinglass, *ichthyocolla*, is made from the Beluga and Sturgeon).

CONQUEST OF SIBERIA BY THE MONGOLS.

GENGHIS Khan gave the sovereignty of the empire of Capschac to his eldest son, Touschi Khan. This division was bounded on the south by the Caspian Sea and the Palus Mæotis; on the east by the river Irtish; on the west by the Don, including the Crimea; and on the north by Kazan up to the Arctic Sea*. A.D. 1211.

Batou Khan succeeded his father, Touschi, who died in 1226. He built the town of Serai on the Volga, and made it his residence. A.D. 1226.

Batou invaded Russia, and reduced that country: appointing viceroys every where, without expelling the Russian princes. A.D. 1240.

Sheibani Khan, brother of Batou, with fifteen thousand families, was sent to the north, and settled at Tiumin on the river Tura, which they named Genghidin, in honour of the great conqueror. They afterwards removed about a hundred and seventy miles north-east, and founded the city of Isker, or Sibir, sixteen miles from Tobolsk, on the Irtish; their boundaries being the rivers Isset and Tavda †. Sheibani had possessions also, by inheritance, on the river Yaik or Ural, where Batou founded the Golden Horde: and vestiges of Saratchick are still visible ‡. A.D. 1242.

Kazan was built by a son of Batou, who resided there. (The khans of Kazan became independent in 1441.) Kasimof on the Oka A.D. 1257.

* Petis de la Croix, p. 387. Abul Ghazi, Vol. II. 576.

† The Tartars gave the name of Tura to the city and all Siberia, and call them so to this day. Sibir (whence Siberia) is probably the Russian word *north*. See Strahlenberg, p. 452.

‡ Strahlenberg, p. 266. Tooke, Ch. II. p. 61. Gibbon, Ch. LXIV. Levesque, Vol. VII. pp. 192, 195, 242. De Guines, Vol. IV. p. 446.

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was the court residence of a khan: there are remains of a palace, lofty tower, mausoleum, &c. *.

Old Astrachan, Tsaritzin, and Bolgar, below the mouth of the Kama, shew remains of large and magnificent cities †.

CENTRAL SIBERIA.

A.D. 1268. Kaidu, great grand-son of Genghis, and nephew of the Grand Khan Kublai, governed the countries about Almalegh: he gained the chiefs of the hordes that encamp north-north-east of Turfan, and those north of the Altai mountains. He rebelled against Kublai; who, being engag- in China, gave the command of the army to Chetien-tche: many lords from the countries of the Igours, Persia, Arabia, Capschac, and some Tartar chiefs, accompanied him, with three hundred thousand men, who met at Siang-yang. Omar, an Arab, with a corps of western troops, encamped at Tchingtou, to make the attack from all sides; and Kaidu was defeated.

In 1276, Kaidu was, with his brother, at the head of one hundred thousand troops; and, having increased in power, he maintained his independence. This king and his armies, at all times, remain in the open plains, vallies, and woods, with which this region abounds. They subsist on flesh and milk, and his subjects pay implicit obedience to their king. They possess vast herds of horses, cows, sheep, and other domestic animals. In these districts are found bears of a white colour, and about twenty spans in length; foxes entirely black; wild asses, and

* Kasimof on the Oka was a populous Tartar town with mosques, in 1685.—Father Avril, p. 128.

† Tooke, Vol. II. p. 48. Levesque, Vol. VII. p. 191.

zibelins; besides martins, and swarms of Pharaoh's mice. They travel in sledges without wheels, and drawn by dogs *.

Kaidu concerted a rebellion, against the Grand Khan Kublai, with Nayan, a near relation of both parties, to whose ancestor, Belgatai, brother of Genghis, a considerable district in Leao-tong had been given: but Nayan was defeated, and put to death by Kublai, before Kaidu could join him. (See the Chapter on Kublai). A.D. 1286.

Kaidu was entirely routed on the banks of the Irtish, by Timur Kaan, grandson of Kublai, and viceroy of Yunan, Burmah, Bangalla, &c. but, after that commander's departure, Kaidu gained over the hordes to the north and north-west of Caracorum. A.D. 1289.

Kublai died in 1294, and his grandson Timur Kaan succeeded him as Grand Khan. In 1297, Kaidu was *driven northward;* and the next year, a great victory was gained over him near the river Irtish. A.D. 1297.

During the whole reign of Timur Kaan, (he died in 1307), there was scarcely any other war than this in Tartary. Kaidu disputed the *empire* for thirty years; which he pretended Kublai had usurped. *Timur Kaan was always obliged to keep numerous armies in these countries.* A.D. 1298.

Caichan, nephew of the Grand Khan, fought several bloody battles with the rebels between Caracorum and the river Tamir.

Kaidu, after having lost his whole army, died of vexation. Tou-oua, his brother, was dangerously wounded, and submitted. Thus ended this long war †. A.D. 1301.

* See Marsden's Marco Polo, B. II. Ch. I. B. III. Ch. XLIV. And De Guines, Vol. IV. p. 151.

† Marco Polo, and notes, in B. II. Ch. I. and B. III. Ch. XLIV. Since the year 1272 the Grand Khan employed elephants in his wars. In the chapter on Kublai, it is shewn, that the khan was in a castle borne by four elephants, in the action with Nayan: and that he possessed thousands of those animals. During the wars with Kaidu, as there were no other hostilities, and as Kaidu disputed the *Empire*, there can be no doubt but great numbers of elephants were present in these wars on the Irtish, and in driving Kaidu to the north. There are, in the neigbourhood of Tomsk, a vast number of rich tombs; and these wars of Timur-

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[This position of Kaidu's appears always to have been an important one, as *the head quarters of the Asiatic Tartars.*

Justin sent an embassy to the Khakan or Emperor, who resided in a fine vale near the sources of the Irtish*.

The appellative *Turks* was borne about A.D. 545, (how much earlier is not known,) only by that part of the nation which had long had its habitation in the Altai mountains along the Irtish, where that people became so powerful as to give disturbance to China and Persia. In the same century the state split into petty Khanates, and at length became a prey to the victorious Arabs†.

Kaan must have been those which caused many of them, for the following reasons: I. Many of the tombs, being very rich, and about four hundred years old, when discovered. II. Elephants' bones being found in them. III. The Chinese wishing to visit them as those of their ancestors, (as will be shown). IV. The armies having marched from Yunan and Bangalla, Timur Kaan being governor of those provinces before he was Emperor of China and Grand Khan of the Moguls.

The Siberians attribute the tombs to the wars of Genghis Khan, and Timur Bec (Tamerlane). The Monarch of China was also named Timur, and was the great great grandson of Genghis. This appears to clear up satisfactorily several interesting points in the history of Siberia, probably not now known in that country, and possibly not even in Russia.

It may also be particularly remarked, that Assam was under Timur Kaan's viceroyalty; and that it is the custom of the Assamese to bury an elephant with the corpse of a great man.

Mangalu, uncle of Timur Kaan, was at this time viceroy of Shen-si, residing at Singan, the capital, and the city where army equipments are made. Singan was the capital of China when the Emperor was the ally of Afrasiab, against the Persian Roostum, and was captured. See Chapter III.

The description, character, and customs, of these invaders of Siberia, from the earliest times, to the thirty years war under Kublai and Timur Kaan, correspond so truly with the tombs, and their contents, as to leave no doubt of their origin.

These Indian countries have probably supplied the buffaloes, fossil remains of which have been found in several places in Siberia, as those animals are used by the Chinese to draw carts. See Van Braam's Embassy, Journal, March 25, 1795.

* Sir Wm. Jones, Vol. I. p. 63, Discourse V. See also an embassy from the Roman Emperor at Constantinople to this same place, in Ch. III. of this Vol.

† Tooke, Vol. II. p. 37. "In the year 1720, when some Russian regiments went

The country of the Getes, and Turquestan, was included in Touschi's sovereignity of Capschac*.

Algu, grandson of Zagatai, had for his share all the country lying between the Altai mountains and the river Amu, (Oxus)†.

It is the supposed country of Afrasiab, who, with his ally the Emperor of China, who fought upon a white elephant, were beaten by the Persian hero, Roostum. The Emperor of China was made prisoner, and the territories were divided by Roostum among the Persian leaders‡.

It appears certain that this was part of the country of Ogus Khan: a name as famous in the east, as that of Alexander or Cæsar in the west: he conquered Kitai, Cashmere, and many other countries. He lived above a hundred years§.

from the city of Tobolsk, up the river Irtish, they found there many antiquities, and temples of idols. The Tobolskian Tartars and Russians say, that from this river, farther towards the west, south, and south-west from the city of Tobolsk, between the sources of the rivers Tobol and Ischim; parts which few people frequented, there were to be found great numbers of images, cut in stone, of men and beasts: and that the ruins of several cities were discernible in those deserts.

The mountains of Ulug-tau and Kitzig-tau, also called Arr-tag and Kar-tag, lie between the said rivers; on the first of which, Tamerlane, when there with his army, erected obelisks: and near which place the great Ogus Khan had his residence." Vide Strahlenberg, p. 4.

* De la Croix, p. 387. † Abul Ghazi, p. 163.

‡ Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, Vol. I. pp. 46 and 124.

§ Strahlenberg, pp. 4, and 136 to 141. " About six hundred and fifty-seven years before Christ, (this was the supposed epoch of Ogus), says Du Halde, a prince of Shen-si revolted; but the Emperor Syang-Vang soon defeated him, by the help of an army of Tartars, whom he had brought over to his interest by marrying the daughter of their chief.

Tsi, the king of Shen-si, died; and the Emperor, freed from his fears, divorced his Tartar spouse, under pretence that she was a stranger, whom he had married for political reasons. The chief of the Tartars resolved on revenge. Shotay, the Emperor's son, was a discontented prince. The Tartar promised to make him Emperor, if he would join him; which he did. They marched to the capital,

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The Altai, or golden mountains, are said to be so called from their containing gold mines, and having, in the neighbouring plains, the finest pastures in the world. In the year 1719, the Kontaish of the Calmucs could bring into the field a hundred thousand excellent cavalry. The Calmucs live always in tents, as anciently: and had recently beaten an invading army of three hundred thousand Chinese. Bell of Antermony).]

A.D. 1389. *We now return to the more immediate object of these notes.* From 1359 to 1389, the King of the Getes* had been invading the empire of Zagatai: and *Tamerlane* had invaded his country five or six times. In the latter year, Tocatmich, or Toctamich, Khan of Capschac, descended from Touschi, eldest son of Genghis†, having insulted Timur, it was necessary to revenge the indignity; but Timur dared not leave so powerful a prince in the north, during the absence of his army. He therefore resolved in person to invade Mogolistan, the country of Prince Ancatoura, and of Kezer Coja Aglen, descended from Zagatai, Emperor of the Moguls and King of Gete‡.

Timur, with his army and the troops of his household, departed from Alcouchoun, in Capschac, and passed by Bouri Bachi, thence to Topalic Carac, and ascended the mountain Ournac, or Ournac Lornac§.

the Emperor fled, and Sho-tay was proclaimed. The Emperor having implored, and received succour, besieged the Metropolis, which surrendered. His son was put to death, and the Tartars were vanquished." Du Halde, Vol. I. p. 168.

* What is now called Siberia, and the Calmuc country, are named Gete, or Geta, and Mogolistan, in Timur Bec's wars.

† See Chapter IV.

‡ Sherefeddin, Vol. I. p. 325. Kezer was grandson to Togluc Timur: see Abul Ghazi, Vol. II. p. 531; and Togluc was twenty-fifth successor to Zagatai: see Sherefeddin, Vol. I. p. 18, note 4. The capitals of these sovereigns were Sibir, near Tobolsk; and Tontoura, near Tomsk. See Strahlenberg, p. 266. Levesque, Vol. VII. p. 195.

§ A note says, this was the residence of Ogus.

He regulated his cavalry at the rate of two horses to each man. He reached Aiker Souri, at the foot of Ournac. They were obliged to dig wells for two or three days: but God provided for so great a multitude; for, though it was the midst of summer, there was in the desert an extensive meadow covered with ice and snow; wherewith all the army, the horses, and cattle, quenched their thirst. Giving thanks to God, they departed*, and encamped at Togrul Otlac, traversed the whole plain, and caught some wild asses: they kept only the fattest. At length the army arrived at the plain of Oulanyarlic, and encamped. Here they perceived a thousand horse belonging to Ancatoura: they were vigorously attacked, and fled. One man was seized. From the information gained, Timur marched with all expedition till he arrived at Aiokuz, and encamped. In a council with his sons, the generals, princes, and lords, it was resolved to divide the army and seek the enemy by two different routes. Mirza Omar Cheik was sent one way, and Timur took the road to Coui Meragh, a famous well, and other places, and came to Caragoutchour, a temple of the Moguls. In the mean time Mirza Omar Cheik exterminated all he met with, and at last came up with Ancatoura at Coubrac. A vigorous battle ensued, Ancatoura was defeated, and fled: all his beautiful daughters fell into the hands of the conqueror; also great numbers of cattle, and much spoil.

The illustrious mirza joined his father, Timur, at Actadictor. Omar was sent on another expedition, and acquitted himself heroically.—The whole army now encamped at Caragoutchour; and the booty was divided among the officers and soldiers. Timur staid at this place long enough to fatten his horses. He sent two commanders, with

* Sherefeddin, Vol I. p. 326. The desert which Timur passed over, was probably the Steppe of Issim.

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thirty thousand horse towards Artish, or Irtish, in lat. 56° 40′, in search of the enemy. They marched day and night. Arriving at the river Irtish, which runs through all the country of the Getes and Mogolistan, into the Oby, half the army marched along the banks, others entered the isles. They slew numbers, and returned to the royal camp with the prisoners and the spoil.

Timur having destroyed those who opposed him, sent the captives in chains, and the spoil, to Samarcand. He then passed the great desert*, and arrived at Aimal Goujou; and lodged in the palace of Serai Ourdam, with a pompous retinue, and the greatest magnificence.

Timur held a council with the princes and lords of the empire; and resolved that the army should be divided into several bodies; to surround the Getes in their usual dwelling places, and to pursue those who had retired to Mogolistan. The officers wrote memoirs of the roads and different passages of all these quarters; and copies were delivered to the different princes and generals; and a guide for each army. The country of Yulduz was ordered to be the rendezvous of all the commanders.

Mirza Omar Cheik led the troops of Andecan. He made inroads to the right and left of the march marked out for him; put all his enemies to the sword, and pillaged every thing in his way. He crossed the mountain Doubechin Andour, and arrived at Cara Coja, three months' journey, by the caravan, from Samarcand.

Another body of thirty thousand cavalry, well equipped, under the Emir Gehanca, marched to Cara Art, and Chourougluc, in Mogolistan, slaying and plundering all the Getes they met.

* This was the Barabintzian desert.

Osman Abbas, with twenty thousand, passed by Saghizgan and Geveyar, treating the inhabitants in the same manner.

Codadad Husseini, with twenty thousand, arrived at Bicout, where they met the hords of Boulgagi and Ilker. The battle was bloody, and lasted twenty-four hours: at length, sword in hand, Timur's troops were victorious.

Timur himself began his march with his guards and household troops: he took the road of Oluc Coul; he met the Boulgagis who had escaped from the battle; they were put to the sword, at the first onset.

The Emperor had left many emirs and troops in western Turquestan, between Gete and Capschac, whom he ordered to invade the country of the Moguls, and to destroy the Getes. They obeyed. After many marches, they came to Molzoredon, where they met the King of Mogolistan*, Keser Coja Aglen, at the head of a great army.

The Emirs judged it improper to attack him on horseback, but they dismounted, and tied their horses' bridles to their belts. There was fighting for forty-eight hours; which ended in a treaty with Kezer Coja Aglen; and the emirs returned to the rendezvous at Yulduz. Chah Melic Turcan thought it advisable to fly, and join Timur at Keitou, near the Irtish. He gave the Emperor an account of the battle, and every thing remarkable in it†. Upon this news, Timur marched, joined the toman of Sultan Mahmoud Khan, and, with expedition, arrived at Yulduz; where the emirs who had made the peace, kissed the royal carpet. His Majesty chose the bravest of his army; and, leaving all his attendants, followed the track of the king, passed the great desert, and arriving at Tabertach, (a village dependant on Caracorum),

* The fugitive Mongols from China, in 1369, appear to have joined the Mongol khans of Gete. Abul Ghazi, Vol. II. p. 507.

† This lame account means, no doubt, that Timur's troops were well beaten.

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then at Couchon Cai, where he found the enemy's army, he passed the night there. During the darkness, the enemy fled towards the desert and distant places; every regiment taking a different road, and flinging away their ensigns, which were black. Many of them fell in the way of Mirza Omar Cheik, Ali Behadur, and the Emir Gehanca; and were slain.

Timur having passed the mountain Naizin Keutel, pursued the enemy to Caratach. The king had suffered great fatigues, seen his warriors, his wives, and children, slain or taken prisoners, and his country ruined; he therefore abandoned it, to save his life.

The soldiers made abundance of both sexes slaves; and the booty was great in horses, camels, sheep, and other beasts, &c. Timur, on his march back, at Jalich, divided the immense spoils; and then continued his route to Yulduz. The emirs all returned to the same place, laden with booty, and with an infinite number of captives. Yulduz is a place of delights and pleasure. The grass in the meadows is so nourishing, that the leanest horses, when they have been there a week, become fat and strong. Poets have sung its praise; the beauty of its fountains is the reason of its name, for Yulduz means the morning star. The Emperor had marched above a thousand leagues; and now resolved to return to Samarcand, being contented with his victories*.

A.D. 1390. The next year Timur was necessitated to send an army into the country of the Getes. Four emirs, with twenty thousand horse, were joined by five thousand more, under Mirza Omar Cheik. They marched by Arjatou, and arrived at Caratal, where they learned that a guard of four hundred men, sent forward to gain intelligence, had been nearly all killed by Camereddin. They came to the field of the slain, and found a man of the horde Malangou yet alive, though he had eaten nothing but herbs

* Sherefeddin, Vol. I. pp. 324 to 338.

for forty days. He assured them that Camereddin had marched towards Itchna Boutchna. They pursued that route and arrived at Keptadgi, where they left their baggage, and pushed on. When they arrived at the Irtish they found that Camereddin had crossed it, and gone towards Taoulas (in latitude 60°) into the woods where sables and ermines are said to be found. They saw the rafts and boats the enemy had built to cross the water. The emirs stayed some time at this place, and crossed the river to engrave their arms and red characters * with fire on the pine trees of these woods, as an assurance to future ages of their conquests beyond the river Irtish. Having been six months in these deserts, and living on hunting and wild roots, and the air becoming extremely cold, they returned by the banks of the great lake Etrach Gheul, and arrived at Samarcand †.

The writer will now endeavour to show that the Mongols possessed equal sovereignty over EASTERN SIBERIA, which was a branch of the Grand Khan's division. The north-east parts of Siberia are named, in the map to Petis de la Croix's Life of Timur, Northern Turquestan.

"Upon leaving Caracorum and the Altai mountains, you proceed, in a nothern direction, through the plain of Bargu, (by Baikal Sea,) sixty days journey. The people live on the flesh of stags, and make use of them for the purpose of travelling: this plain borders on the ocean at its northren extremity, and the people are subjects of the Grand Khan. They have neither corn nor wine, the cold is excessive. Upon travelling forty days it is said you reach the northern ocean. Near to this is a mountain where vultures and peregrine falcons breed:

* These arms and inscriptions are burnt upon the trees, or cutin the rocks, and are filled with red colour. See Strahlenberg, p. 346.

† Sherefeddin, Vol. I. pp. 344 to 347. This fruitless expedition was, no doubt, against the prince reigning at Sibir. The names differ so entirely from the modern geography, that it is impossible to trace Timur's marches, with any accuracy.

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neither men nor cattle are found there; and of birds only the bargelak and the falcons to which they serve for food. When the Grand Khan is desirous to have peregrine falcons, he procures them at this place.

There is also an island off the coast, where ger-falcons breed, and are found in such numbers that his majesty may be supplied with as many of them as he pleases*." (See the Chapter on Kublai for the vast number of these birds he possessed).

"Jouini, or Aladdin Atamulc, who died in 1284, composed his history in 1260. He observes, that Genghis Khan's territories lay much to the north and east of the desert side of Tartary: and was of so great extent, that the true country of the Moguls was eight months journey. That the several sorts of people that inhabit it, were divided into tribes, called Moguls: and that among all these tribes there was but one that was civilized, which was that called Niron Caiat, of which Genghis became sovereign by the death of his father Pisouca†."

A.D. 1245. * * * "In the same country with Burin and Cadou, grandsons of Genghis, (says Carpini) Shiebani, the brother of Batou, remaineth (at Sibir). We were travelling through it from the feast of the Ascension, till eight days before the feast of St. John the Baptist, (i. e. by the *Roman* calendar, near three months); when we entered the country of the black Cathayans‡, where the Emperor had built a house;

* Marco Polo, p. 220, and the notes; where it will be seen that Polo had received very accurate accounts of the country, for his text implies that the people rode upon the reindeer, which is proved to be true by Mr. Adams; who found ruins of ancient forts, near the mouth of the Lena, and also mutilated remains, "*de figures grotesques.*" See the Chap. on the Lena Elephant. It is only in summer that people visit those excessively cold parts. For a description of them see Chap. VI.

† P. de la Croix, p. 427.

‡ That is, Cara Cathay, or Black Cathay: so named from the colour of the rich soil, to distinguish it from the desert. Cara Cathay, on De l'Isle's map to the Life of Genghis Khan, is from north Lat. 50° to 55° north-east of Caracorum.

his deputy ordered some drink for us, and a dance by his two sons. Departing hence, we found a small sea, very stormy; along its shores we travelled many days; there are many islands in it; and we passed, leaving it on our left hand *.

In this land dwelleth Ordu, the *most ancient* of the Tartarian dukes. It is the orda, or court of his father, which he inhabiteth: and one of his wives beareth rule there †; for it is a custom not to dissolve the courts of princes, but to appoint women, on whom gifts are bestowed as on their lords. And so we arrived at the first court of the Emperor: we could not enter the orda, not having seen the Emperor.

Departing, we entered the land of the Naimans, full of mountains, and very cold. Then we came into Mongolia, and in some weeks, arrived at the court of Cuyne ‡. We sent him the pope's letter, and the message from Batou.

After five days, we were sent to the Emperor's mother, under whom there was maintained a very solemn and royal court, in a fine white tent, large enough for two thousand persons. All the dukes were assembled, riding about the hills and dales with their trains. The first day they were clad in white; the second, in scarlet robes. This day Cuyne entered the tent. The third day the dresses were blue; and the fourth rich Balderkin cloth §. There were many that had pure gold on their trappings, worth twenty marks. The dukes communed about the election of Cuyne.

* Lake Baikal.

† In the chapter on Genghis it is shown that he was born in this neighbourhood; and also his empress Purta Cougine, the mother of the four great monarchs who succeeded to his vast conquests. They were therefore complete Siberians.

‡ Cuyne (Keyuc is the proper name, it is probably a misprint) had removed the court from Caracorum to Oloughyurt in 1245. Petis de la Croix, p. 389.

§ Cloth of gold.

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Without the door stood Duke Yeroslaus of Suzdal in Russia; and a great many dukes of Cathay, and of the Solangi, two sons of the king of Georgia, ten Saracen Soldans, and an envoy from the Calif of Bagdat. We were told, there were more than four thousand ambassadors and deputies from such as paid tribute and presented gifts. We rode four leagues, and arrived at a place called the *Golden Orda*. There was a tent covered with balderkin cloth, and supported by pillars plated with gold, fastened on with golden nails. Here Cuyne was placed upon the imperial throne. He was son of Octai, forty-four years old, of middle stature, wise, politic, and passing serious. He erected the flag of defiance against the Roman Empire, meaning to subdue the whole world. On his seal is, "God in Heaven. Cuyne Khan upon earth—the power of God *. The seal of the Emperor of all men." The gifts presented were infinite, robes of purple, horses, mules, &c. Five hundred carts full of gold, silver, and silk garments, were divided between the Emperor and his dukes. A canopy, set full of precious stones, was carried over the Emperor's head. * * *

The Emperor's concubine, and many of her confederates, were executed, for having poisoned Octai. At the same time, the Russian duke Yeroslaus deceased. He had been invited by the Emperor's mother to a feast, and, after the banquet, returning to his lodging, fell sick, and died in seven days. After his death, his body was of a strange blue colour; and it was commonly reported that the duke was poisoned, that the Tartars might wholly possess his dukedom †.

We had audience of the Emperor, and received his letter for the

* At this very period, the popes were industrious in inculcating the maxim, that the bishop of Rome is the supreme lord of the *universe*, and that princes have no lawful power, that is not derived from him. Carpini was, no doubt, careful not to communicate these interesting pretensions to Cuyne.

† Jarislaf II. "C'est oublier que le poison est l'arme du faible; et que les Tartares n'en avoient pas besoin." Levesque, Vol. II. p. 106.

pope, in the Tartar and Latin languages, carefully translated by us. We travelled all winter long, through deserts of snow, and arrived at Kiev in Russia *.

The Yakutes of the Angara, and of the Syane mountains, were persecuted by the Buriats and Mongols; and moved to their present rude and inclement districts, where they are found on both sides of the Lena, to the Frozen Ocean †.

The present inhabitants of Yakutsk (the city) are supposed to be the descendants of the invading Mongols. One of the chiefs had a stud of two thousand horses, in very good condition, when M. Lesseps was there, though he had lost a considerable number by Commodore Billings's expedition. They pretend to ride better than any other nation in the world ‡.

The Yakutes consist of Mongols, Tartars, and Mantchews: they are spread to the eastern extremity of Siberia upon the coasts of the gulf of Pinjinsk and on the shores of the Kovima; "*on voit en eux l'honnêteté que peut donner la nature.*" They hunt in most places: on the borders of the Lena and Indigerska they are occupied with their fisheries. In the south they have many horned cattle and horses. Those years, when the snow is excessive, are ruinous to the cattle and their owners: for horses, reindeer, and horned cattle, all seek their own nourishment under the snow, receiving no aid from their masters §."

The Buriat Chief (near Lake Baikal) gave me a passport in the Mongolian dialect: his mother had three thousand horned cattle, ten thousand horses, and forty thousand sheep ||.

* Friar John Du Plano Carpini. Hakluyt, Vol. I. pp. 66 to 71.

† Tooke, Vol. II. p. 80. ‡ Note in Marsden's Marco Polo, p. 747.

§ Levesque, Vol. VII. p. 439. It appears that they might always procure hay, if provident. Near Olekma there are plenty of grass meadows.

|| Capt. Cochrane, p. 476.

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The Russian Mongols inhabit the regions about the Selenga, between the 50th and 53rd degrees of north latitude, and the 122nd to the 125th longitude*.

Para Hotun, on the Kerlon, was built by the Mongols when they took to the Chinese customs, under Mangu and Kublai; it was of a square figure, and two leagues in circumference. The foundations are still to be seen (1710), with some large pieces of the wall, and two pyramids in ruins. There are ruins of their cities in twenty places. We met with but one inscription, near Holustay, in the highest of some marble blocks, in the Chinese character: it imported, that the Chinese army, under the Emperor Yong-lo, (who commenced his reign A.D. 1403), arrived there the 14th of May. Hence it appears that he did not pursue the Moguls beyond the Kerlon. He was thrice in quest of them, and pushed them to lat. 50° †.

When Siberia was conquered by the Russians, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Moguls were still a free and numerous people, governed by their own khans; under whose sovereignty were several Siberian nations ‡.

MONGOL TOMBS, AND ANTIQUITIES IN SIBERIA.

In Siberia, the southern frontier mountains, from the Tobol to the Jenesai, and the *steppes in the middle regions of the Lena*, have been inhabited by the Mongol Tartars: and particularly in the governments of Ufa, Kazan, and Tobolsk. Frequent memorials are found

* Tooke, Vol. II. p. 25. Mr. Tooke's longitude is from Ferrol; which agrees with other histories.

† Du Halde. Description of Tartary, Vol. II. p. 251.

‡ Tooke, Vol. II. p. 23.

there, of their ancient grandeur, magnificence, and culture; of which some are of an antiquity demonstrably of above a thousand years.

It is no rare thing to come suddenly upon the ruins of some town, which, in its crumbling remains, plainly evinces the progress which the arts had made, among a people whom we are wont to consider as barbarians. Still more frequently are seen sepulchres, which, by their inscriptions, throw light on the history of this nation; and, in the vessels and implements preserved in them, supply us with interesting proofs of its opulence, its taste, and its industry.

In the museum at St. Petersburg, are preserved a multitude of vessels, diadems, weapons, military trophies, ornaments of dress, coins, &c. which have been found in the Tartarian tombs, in Siberia, and on the Volga. They are of gold, silver, and copper. The greatest antiquity of the tombs is one thousand one hundred years, the latest four hundred*.

The surprising quantity of golden ornaments found in the tombs of Siberia, were they not evident to the sight, would exceed all belief.

The richest of the tombs, says Muller, were made in the time of Genghis Khan and his immediate successors; the most valuable being found on the banks of the Volga, Tobol, and Irtish. The next in value are in the deserts of Jenesai, and the poorest near Lake Baikal. He supposes them all to be the work of the Mongol hordes †.

* Tooke, Vol. II. p. 48. This remark refers to the period of the discovery of these tombs in the seventeenth century. As the Turks, who had elephants, and who in the sixth century resided at the Altai mountains, and conquered up to the Arctic Sea, (Gibbon, Ch. XLII. Purchas, I. 397), and, as the rebellion against Kublai and Timur Kaan took place at the end of the thirteenth century, and Tamerlane's principal invasion was in 1389, the different epochs correspond so accurately as to leave no doubt as to the origin of these curious sepulchres.

† Cox's Travels, Vol. III. p. 179. The reason of the poorest being at Baikal is, that the Grand Khans and their families were buried near the Chinese wall. See map, flag 7.

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In the tombs of Siberia, and the deserts which border it southward, are found thousands of cast idols of gold, silver, copper, tin, and brass. I have seen, says Strahlenberg, some, of the finest gold, three inches long, in the form of minotaurs, harts, old men, and other figures; all sorts of urns, trinkets, scimitars, medals of gold and silver, chess-boards and chess-men of gold; large golden plates, upon which the dead bodies have been laid, (not unlike the Bractei aurei), and clothes folded up, such as the corpse is dressed in.

Some of the tombs are of earth, and raised as high as houses, and in such numbers, upon the plain, that, at a distance, they appear like a ridge of hills; some are partly of rough hewn stones or of free stone, oblong and triangular; others of them are built entirely of stone. Colonel Kanifer told me that the ambassadors of the Chinese Tartars, when passing the city of Jenesai, asked permission to visit the *tombs of their ancestors*, but were refused; not improbably, because they would have seen that they were rifled and demolished.

Golden medals have been dug out of a tomb not far from the Irtish, between the salt lake Jamischewa and the city of Omm, or Ommostrock. About twenty or thirty years ago, before the Czars of Russia were acquainted with these matters, the governors of the cities Tara, Tomskoi, Crasnoyar, Batsamki, Isetskoe, and others, used to give leave to the inhabitants to go in caravans, to ransack the tombs, on condition that, of whatever they should find of gold, silver, copper, jewels, and other things of value, the governor should have the tenth. These choice antiquities were often broken and shared by weight.—They have dug for years, and the treasures are not exhausted.

The graves of the poorer sort have such things of copper and brass: arrows of copper and iron, stirrups, large and small polished plates of metal, or mirrors, with characters upon them. Urns are found of different sizes, some almost two feet high, and some more; some with, and

some without handles. Some of these graves are very deep, and probably of great antiquity. Hawking and hunting are represented upon an urn dug out of a tomb at Crasnoyar*. A whole skeleton of an elephant was found in one of the tombs†. Bones of horses, and sometimes of elephants, are found in the numerous graves near Tomsk; also figures of deer in pure gold, an armed man on horseback, in brass, of no mean design and execution‡; and figures of the hippopotamus§.

The idols, minotaurs, and ancient manuscripts in the Mongolian, Tangut, and Calmuc characters, stamped on paper made from silk or cotton, and varnished blue and black, were brought from the deserts on each side the upper Irtish; found in the temples and tombs. The letters are partly of a gold, and partly of a silver colour||.

After the Irtish hath run many miles through a hilly country covered with wood, it passes through a fruitful plain; we continued on the right of the river, and found a regular edifice in the middle of a desert: there are seven rooms under one roof; and it is called Semipalati, or the Seven Palaces. It is of brick or stone, well finished, and still entire. Several rooms are filled with scrolls of glazed paper, fairly written, some of them in gilt characters. A few have been translated: they are supposed to be forms of prayers of the Lamas.

Upon the hills, and in the valleys in these parts, grows the best rhubarb in the world, without the least culture.

While Mr. Bell was at Tomsk, a grave-digger told him, that once they found an arched vault, in which were the remains of a man, with a bow, arrows, lance, and other arms, lying together upon a silver table.

* Strahlenberg, pp. 325 to 407. Bell, p. 209. See the Plate, copied from that in Strahlenberg.

† Cox's Travels, Vol. III. p. 170.

‡ Bell of Antermony, p. 209.

§ Rees's Cyc. "Hippopotamus."

|| Strahlenberg, p. 325.

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On touching the body, it fell to dust. The value of the table and arms was very considerable*.

CONQUEST OF RUSSIA BY THE MONGOLS.

GENGHIS Khan having conquered the whole kingdom of Carisme,
A.D. 1211. and the neighbouring countries, gave the sovereignty of Capschac, to his eldest son, Touschi Khan†: who dying six months before his fa-
A.D. 1226. ther, was succeeded by his son Batou Khan. Batou Khan entered
A.D. 1237. Russia, with six hundred thousand troops‡. Rezan, Moscow, Souzdal, Torjok, Vlademir§, Kozelsk, and other places were taken, plundered and burnt; most of the inhabitants being massacred, or loaded with fetters. Another army having reduced Kief and other places in the south, Batou returned to Serai, his head quarters, on the banks of the Sencla, a small river which runs into the Volga. Serai became a great city||.

A.D. 1240. All Russia, except Novogorod, was now tributary to the Mongols, who appointed viceroys every where, without expelling the Russian princes**.

* Bell of Antermony, Ch. III. Mr. Bell gave some of the Manuscripts to Sir Hans Sloane.

† Petis de la Croix, Life of Genghis, p. 105.

‡ The Tartars or Mongols were not known to the Russians before the year 1224. Tooke, Hist. Vol. I. p. 239.

§ The Grand Prince of Russia, named Yury Vsevolodovitch, and one of his sons, were slain in this terrible invasion: his consort and his other two sons were consumed in the flames of the church, at Vlademir. Tooke, Hist. of Russia, Vol. I. 245.

|| Levesque, Vol. II. Michovius relates, that, in 1515, there were ruins of three hundred temples at Serai. Description of the Caspian in Tavernier, at the end of his volume.

** Tooke, Vol. II. p. 2.

Batou founded the city of Cazan. This monarch was succeeded by his brother Bereke, who became a Mahomedan; but he died before he could persuade his subjects to follow his example*. A.D. 1256.

The Mongol general Nogai, having subdued the nations on the north of the Black Sea, revolted, and kept those countries for himself. A.D. 1259. The Russians, taking advantage of this dissension, and impatient of their heavy chains, massacred all the Tartars in those towns, which had confederated for this purpose.

The Grand Duke Alexander was commanded to appear at the horde with his troops: but eluding this danger, he went alone, made his peace with the Khan; and died a few days after he had taken leave†. A.D. 1264.

The Grand Duke of Moscow married the sister of Usbeck Khan‡: a grandson of Alexander Nevski, and other Russian princes, formed alliances with the Mongols§. A.D. 1313.

The Russian Grand Duke Dimitri, surnamed Donskoi, vanquished the Khan Mamai, in a signal and bloody battle on the Don||. A.D. 1380.

Toctamish, or Tocatmish, was now Khan of Capschac. He had a very powerful army, and his fiat decided the fate of the Russian grand dukes. He had been placed on the throne, by the friendship of Tamerlane, with whom he quarrelled, and brought on himself the vengeance of that conqueror, who defeated him in a bloody and terrible battle, high in the north**. Toctamish reestablished himself in his A.D. 1391.

* Petis de la Croix, p. 387. Levesque, Vol. II. 120.

† Levesque, Vol. II. p. 133. Mr. Tooke, Hist. Vol. I. p. 260, thinks it probable that he was poisoned.

‡ Usbeck was descended from Genghis in the fourth degree: he was the sixth sovereign of Capschac, and introduced the Mahomedan religion. See Abul Ghazi Bahadur, Part VII. Ch. II.

§ Levesque, Vol. II. p. 175. || Levesque, Vol. II. p. 245.

** For some account of this remarkable battle, in which there were more than eight hundred thousand combatants, see Chapter IV. in this volume.

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kingdom, and invaded Timur's dominions. The Emperor, being then in Georgia, resolved to avenge himself, and sent his empresses and children to Sultania. He reviewed his army; and it is said, that, since the time of Genghis Khan, there had never been one so numerous, nor so well equipped*. All the emirs and principal commanders, on their knees, assured the Emperor of their fidelity. Timur marched by Derbend, till he found the enemy. Toctamich was encamped, and strongly fortified on the banks of the Terek, a few leagues from the Caspian Sea, with a mighty and formidable force: his regiments were surrounded by waggons and great bucklers, like a wall. On the 22nd

A. D. 1395. of April, the two armies came to action.

[The writer of these notes has purposely avoided giving long descriptions of battles; but as this was one of the most famous, and, probably, near a million of combatants engaged, besides the person of Timur being exposed to extreme peril, the reader may find it interesting.]

"On the morning of the 23rd of Jumaziulakher, says Sherefeddin, the soldiers of both armies began to move, and raised a noise like two oceans beating against each other, when agitated by the tempestuous wind.

The commanders displayed their standards, and put on their helmets at the first sound of the Emperor's kettle-drums. Timur had formed his army into seven bodies, placing at the head those who had the title of Bahader: the infantry, being covered with their bucklers, were placed before the cavalry. Mirza Mehemet Sultan commanded the main body, which he strengthened with the bravest men of the army. Timur again rode before the soldiers, to see whether they had all their arms, which were swords, lances, clubs, bows, and

* "And I reviewed my armies, and behold, they stood on four fursungs (about thirteen English miles) of ground in battle array: and I gave thanks to God." Timur's Institutes, p. 127.

nets to catch men*. Then he mounted at the head of twenty-seven chosen companies, who composed the body of reserve. The enemy also ranged his army, opposite Timur's, and displayed his ensigns.

The fight began. The great shout was heard on each side; and on a sudden, the air was darkened with arrows, and filled with the cries of *dar!* or *ghir!* that is, give and slay, hold and take. Then came a man from the left wing, who told Timur, that Condge Aglen, Bicyaroc Aglen, Actao, Daoud Soufa (son-in-law of Toctamish), and Otourcou, were advanced with a considerable detachment from their right wing, to attack his left. Whereon Timur immediately marched against them with his reserve, and attacked them with so much fury, that they turned their backs and fled. One of Timur's chosen companies, pursued the enemy, till, when near their main body, they rallied, slew many of their pursuers, and beat back the rest as far as where Timur was. This created a confusion, which induced the enemy to advance, and they boldly attacked the Emperor. Notwithstanding his vigorous and intrepid resistance, in which he discharged all his arrows, broke his half-pike, and his sword, they had now hemmed him in, if the Emir Sheik Noureddin, resolved to sacrifice his life for his monarch's safety, had not dismounted close by him, with fifty others, who kept off the enemy with their arrows. Mehemed Azae, his brother Alicha, and Touzel Baourchi, seized three of the enemy's waggons, which they joined together just before Timur, to try to break the enemy's ranks: Alladad came also to his Majesty's assistance, with his faithful company; he got off his horse, and posted himself near Noureddin. Hussein Malec Coutchin arrived with his club men, and Zirec Yacou with his: the regiment of guards, with their ensigns, and with the horse-tail, came up and gave the great shout: Ustoui ad-

* No instance has been met with to explain how the Tartars caught their enemies.

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vanced with his company, and posted himself behind the guards. All these troops, having dismounted, stood their ground against the enemy, whose soldiers continued their attacks, with the utmost vigour; nevertheless Timur's troops did not recede, but poured in vast showers of arrows.

Codadad Hussein, who conducted the vanguard of the left wing, advanced between Condge Aglen, who commanded the enemy's right, and planted himself behind Actao, who boldly faced Timur.

In the meantime the Mirza Mehemet Sultan, with his recruits, marched towards the left of the Emperor: these brave men rushed upon the enemy, and with their scimitars and lances routed their right wing, and constrained Actao to flee.

The Emir Hadgi Seifeddin, who commanded the vanguard of Timur's right wing, found himself more pressed; for the enemy's left, whose vanguard was commanded by the Emirs Aisa Bey and Bacchi Coja, had the advantage of this emir: they got behind him and enclosed him; so that, dismounting with his toman (corps of ten thousand), and holding his great buckler before him, as all his soldiers did likewise, they put themselves in a posture to discharge their arrows, and defended themselves with unshaken resolution against the enemy, whose number continually increased. But though they fell upon our men with their lances, scimitars and demi-sabres, yet our soldiers did not cease repulsing them with their arrows; slaying the most forward; till Gehanca Bahader, who came from another part of the field, seeing the danger Seifeddin was in, fell impetuously with his toman upon the enemy, who were almost conquerors: the club-men gave way on one side, and the lancers on the other: the attacks were sustained so vigorously, that the slaughter was truly horrible.

When these two great emirs joined against the enemy, they assaulted them with so much courage, that their left wing gave way. Mirza

Roustem, son of Omar Cheik, rushed like a thunderbolt with his toman upon the main body, which he put to flight after having slain several of them, though so very young, to the honor of the Emperor his grandfather.

Yaghlibi Behrin, a favorite and even a relation of Toctamish, wishing to distinguish himself by some great action, advanced with a troop of brave men, and haughtily cried out that he dared to the combat the most courageous of Timur's army: he even called with a loud voice to Osman Bahader, and told him that the place he was in was the field of battle, and that he expected him there. This piece of vanity so incensed Osman, that he instantly marched against him at the head of his toman: they fought hand to hand, and having broken their sabres, they seized their war-clubs and poignards, and grappled like two enraged lions. The soldiers of their tomans imitated the example of their chiefs: never was there a fiercer encounter; and blood flowed like a torrent. At length, Osman Bahader overthrew his antagonist, and fell on his troops with such fury, that he entirely defeated them.

All our generals in their respective posts performed their duty so well, that, after a long, obstinate battle, they made the enemy give ground, and put them in disorder. Yet we were not certain of the defeat till the flight of Toctamish, who shamefully turned his back, with the princes of his blood, (that is, of the race of Touschi, eldest son of Genghis Khan), the Nevians, or foreign princes, dwelling in the kingdom of Capschac, and the emirs and generals of his troops. Then all our men rallied, and, joining together, fell on the enemy, shouting out, Victory! Vast numbers were slain, and many of those who were taken alive, were afterwards hanged *.

* Lieutenant Hart of the Fourth Dragoons, nephew of the writer, in company

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Timur, when certain of this result; dismounting from his horse, humbly knelt down before God, acknowledging that through his goodness alone he had gained the victory. The Emperor's sons and other princes fell on their knees, congratulated his majesty, and cast upon him gold and jewels. The monarch embraced them, and loaded them with praises and thanks. He distributed treasures on the most distinguished: and presented the emir Sheik Noureddin, who had with so much zeal exposed his person to save his sovereign's life, with a horse of great price, a vest of gold brocade, a belt set with precious stones, and a hundred thousand dinars copeghi; besides honorable promotion in the army *.

In order that every one might be contented, his majesty made also a general promotion of all the officers in the army †".

Timur, leaving the baggage and the great booty which was captured, went with his best troops in pursuit of Toctamish; but, on his arrival at the Volga, finding that the fugitive monarch had crossed the river, Timur invested Coraitchac Aglen with the crown of Capschac, and the whole empire of Touschi ‡.

The army pressed on in pursuit, northward, to Oukek, the last town

with George Lamb, Esq. on their journey from Bombay, in 1824, passed over the extensive desert plain upon which this great battle was fought: it is between Kislar and Mosdok. The number of Tumuli which were in view, was immense: and they were visible as far as the eye could reach: they were of different sizes, but perhaps none above twenty-five feet in height. The soil was barren earth; and here and there some straggling weeds, like worm-wood.

* About thirty-three thousand pounds. A dinar copeghi is seven livres ten sous, French money. Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 147, note.

† Sherefeddin, B. III. Ch. LIII.

‡ Petis de la Croix, p. 389, asserts, that notwithstanding this installation, Schady Bec succeeded to the throne in 1395. Toctamish fled for refuge to the Duke of Lithuania: returned to dispute the throne, and, at last, perished in the wilds of Siberia.

of the dependence of Serai; and thence into the impenetrable forests of Boular. The army marched on the west side of the river to the place where it had ravaged the country in 1391, which is near the Icy Sea. On their return, the soldiers acquired an immense plunder in gold, silver, pearls, rubies, furs, and several wild animals unknown among the Zagataians. Many young persons of both sexes were also brought away captive *.

As Timur's courage was not satisfied with an enterprise till he had carried it to the utmost perfection, he was not content with having chased Toctamich from his empire and destroyed his army: he therefore resolved to reduce to obedience the nations of these western frontiers. According to this generous sentiment, he sent forward the Emir Osman, who cut the Usbec Tartars to pieces, and pillaged their houses †. The toman of Actao, the Usbec, abandoned the country, and fixed themselves in the plains of Isra Yaca, near Natolia.

Timur then went in person towards Grand Russia, plundering the cities as he went, defeating and cutting in pieces the princes and governors, as far as the borders of Rezan, with an army of four hundred thousand men.

Appearing to take the road to Moscow, which had not recovered from the devastations committed by Toctamich, the inhabitants of that unfortunate city were in despair. The Grand Duke, Vassili II. resolved to encounter the storm, and pitched his camp on the borders of the Oka ‡. Against Timur's mighty force there could be no hope.

* Sherefeddin, Vol. I. p. 499.

† The reader will recollect that these *generous* proceedings are described by a subject of Timur.

‡ Sherefeddin has asserted that Timur took Moscow; and many authors have copied him: but Toctamich had plundered Moscow a few years before Timur's invasion, and he did not go to that city. See Levesque; and Gibbon, Vol. VI. p. 338.

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Contrary to all expectation, Timur changed his course, and turned his face homeward *. His troops were enriched with ingots of gold, silver, linen cloth woven with great neatness and skill, skins covered with spots, in considerable loads, the most beautiful sables, ermines, and other furs in such quantities as to supply the captors for their own and their children's lives. In Little Russia, the army took prodigious droves of cattle, an infinite number of colts which had not yet been shod, besides abundance of beautiful girls and women of all ages.

By this campaign the power of Toctamich, and of the kingdom of Capschac, were considerably shaken; it was therefore a fortunate event for Russia. The sons of Toctamich, and other princes, reigned in rapid succession, and, by their dissensions, paved the way for the

A. D. 1475. Russian conquests. Ivan III. being required by an order under the great seal of Akhmet, khan of the Golden Horde, to pay the accustomed tribute; he treated the orders with contempt, and put the deputy to death. The next year Akhmet entered Russia, ravaged the frontiers, and reached the river Oka, where he was surprised at the sight of a formidable army; at the discovery of which he retraced his steps, and no sooner reached his own territory than his troops became victims of the plague.

A. D. 1552. Cazan, after a terrible siege, was taken by storm by Ivan IV. and the country subdued. The Russian monarch, when he entered Cazan, wept at the horrid sight of the heaps of the slain †.

* Levesque, Vol. II. p. 267.

† Jerome Bowes was sent by Queen Elizabeth, as ambassador, to Ivan, who was the first who took the title of Czar. To conform to the etiquette of the times, he remained with his hat on at the first audience. Some one represented the danger of such conduct, and the evils he might bring on himself by it. "I am not unacquainted with them," said he; "but I am the ambassador of a Queen, who will revenge any affront offered to her in the person of her minister." The Czar, far from being offended, presented him to the assembly. "Behold," said he, "a brave

Astrachan falls; and the Tartar domination in these quarters ends. A. D. 1554.

The conquest of Sibir, near Tobolsk, was effected; after having been in possession of the descendants of Genghis Khan about three hundred and fifty years *. A. D. 1586.

When king James's ambassador, Sir Thomas Smith, was at Moscow, in 1604, the Emperor Boris's table was served by two hundred noblemen in coats of gold. The prince's table was served by the young dukes of Cazan, Astrachan, Siberia, Tartaria, and Circassia †. A.D. 1604.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, most part of Siberia was reduced; and about the year 1711 Kamtschatka was added to the Russian Empire. A.D. 1650.

The Crimea, the last possession of the descendants of Genghis Khan, in the kingdom of Capschac and in Siberia, fell to Russia, about five hundred and fifty years after the conquest of those countries by the Mongols. A.D. 1784.

man, who has the courage to uphold the honour of his sovereign with dignity. Who among you would do as much for me?"—Clausen.

* Levesque, Vol. III. † Milton's Historical Works, Vol. II. p. 147.

CHAPTER VI.

Fossil remains of Elephants, Rhinoceroses, and Buffaloes, found in Siberia and Russia.——Remarks on the Elephant found in the Ice at the Mouth of the Lena.——Sublime Scenery.——Ruins of Ancient Forts.——Happiness of the Natives.——Numerous Errors arising from Europeans having transferred the word Mammoth, the Siberian Name of the Walrus, to the Remains of Elephants, Whales, &c.

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"THE celebrated Bayer conjectures, that the bones and teeth found in Siberia belonged to elephants, *common in that country,* during the wars of the Mongol monarchs with the Persians and Indians; and this plausible supposition is in some measure corroborated by the discovery of a whole skeleton of an elephant in one of the tombs of Siberia. Pallas refutes this, by the consideration that the elephants employed in all the armies of India, could never have afforded the vast quantities of teeth which have been discovered *."

" Many persons go from Tomsk (lat. 56° 30′) to the graves, eight or ten days journey, where they dig, and find, among the ashes of the dead, gold, silver, brass, precious stones, armour, sword-hilts, bones of horses, and sometimes of *elephants*. It appears that many warriors must

* Coxe's Travels, Vol. III. p. 170.

have fallen here, from the number of graves: as they have dug for years, and the treasures are not exhausted. The Tartars in the Baraba told me that Tamerlane, others said Genghis Khan, had many engagements in that country with the Calmucs*."

" Mammoths' bones, or teeth, says Strahlenberg, are now here found in greater plenty than near the mouths of the Oby, Jenesai, and Lena. After these rivers have swollen, and have washed away a good deal of the lower part of the clay and sandy banks, then, only, these teeth are found. They are of different sizes. I have seen some above four Russian ells long (nine feet four inches English), and, at the thickest part, nine inches in diameter. They are like elephants' teeth, but somewhat more crooked. They serve to make any thing that is required of ivory: but, when they have been exposed to the air, they are a little more *yellowish* and *brown* like cocoa-nut shells: and sometimes of a blackish blue†. *A great many of these teeth, which are white,* are carried for sale to China ‡.

I have taken a good deal of pains to come at some certainty with respect to this mineral, if I may call it so; but I have not been able to obtain such an account as is capable of obviating all objections. The name, doubtless, has its origin from the Hebrew and Arabic, denoting Behemot, of which Job speaks, Ch. XL. and which the Arabs pronounce Mehemet.

* Bell of Antermony, p. 209.

† See Chap. XVI. on the Walrus. The writer will, with the aid of that chapter, endeavour to elucidate this confused account of Strahlenberg's: he does not in his work mention the Walrus fisheries. He was thirteen years in Siberia. So far the above means the elephant.

‡ These are all Walrus's teeth. " The Russians bring many teeth of a sort of *fish* to Pekin; they are *whiter* than ivory." Du Halde, Vol. II. p. 263. The reader is requested to bear in mind this important distinction in the *colour* of the tusks.

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But our commentators are not agreed what kind of animal is to be understood by Behemot. Luther, with many others, take the word to mean only in general a monstrous large beast; and it seems the Arabians were not at a greater certainty. It is they, doubtless, who brought this word into Great Tartary*, for the Ostiacks call the Mammoth *Khosar;* the Tartars call it *Khir;* and though the Arabian name is *Fyhl,* yet, if very large, they add the adjective *Mehemodi* to it †. These Arabs coming into Tartary, and finding there the relics of some monstrous great beasts, and not knowing what kind they might be, called these teeth Mehemot, which afterwards became a proper name among the Tartars, and is by the Russians corruptly pronounced Mammoth. (The Tartars about Jenesai have many Arabic words in their language. Bell of Antermony, Ch. III.) Some think that Job meant the hippopotamus; others, that he meant the whale. Be this as it will, the Russian word Mammoth certainly came from Behemot. Father Gregory, confessor to the princess Sophia, was many years an

* The Arab conquests of Persia and Maverulnere, were in the seventh century.

† In the Vocabularium Calmucko-Mungalicum of Strahlenberg, the word for an elephant is Sann or *Sogo;* and we here find that the Tartars and Ostiacks do not call the elephant *mammoth.* We find (see Ch. XV.) that the Yakutes, with Mr. Adams, inscribed *selichaëta,* meaning "montagne de mammoth:" and also that the governor of Siberia means, by the word *Behemot,* the Walrus. Job's description indicates, clearly, the hippopotamus. "He eateth grass as an ox: he drinketh up a river: the willows of the brook compass him about: he lieth in the covert of the reed and fens." The Arabs, who could not be unacquainted with elephants, finding ivory in Siberia, which was from an animal that was *amphibious,* and fed on grass or moss, would naturally think it a sort of Behemot; for they are acquainted with the Bible, great part of which is transcribed into the Koran; and among the figures found in the Tartar tombs in Siberia, the *hippopotamus* is one of them. "There is every reason to apprehend that the morse has been confounded, by some travellers, with the hippopotamus." Rees's Encyc. "Hippopotamus."

exile in Siberia: he told me, that *formerly* the name was *Memoth*, but that the Russian dialect had made the alteration to Mammoth.

The next question, since there are so many tokens of prodigiously large animals found in Siberia, is of what kind they must have been.

As to the opinion that they were *amphibious* creatures, which is *currently believed by the Siberian populace*, I have always looked on it as a fable; nor have I ever met with two accounts of that matter which were of a piece.

The author of *Das Verænderte Russland*, p. 179, says, that these animals were nine Russian ells long*: but an ancient painter, Remesoff, who lived at Tobolsk, informed me, in the presence of Dr. Messerschmidt and many others, that he, and thirty more of his companions, had seen, between the cities of Tara and Tomskoi, near Lake Tsana, an entire skeleton of one of these creatures, thirty-six Russian ells long, and lying on one side: and the distance between the ribs was so great, that he, standing upright on the concavity of one rib, could not quite reach the inner surface of the opposite rib with a pretty long battle-axe†. To which may be added, that bones of a vast bigness, and grinders twenty or twenty-four pounds weight, are found almost all over Siberia‡.

Dr. Messerschmidt has seen the bones of a whole skeleton of a monstrous size, in a ditch, between Tomskoi, and Kasnetsko, on the banks of the Tomber§.

The Swedish prisoners saw a head at Tumeen, two ells and a half long, which the Russians reckoned one of the smallest size‖.

* That is, twenty-one feet English, which is the length of the Walrus.

† A whale, no doubt: but this idea seems not to have been entertained by Strahlenberg or Messerschmidt. This place is eight hundred miles from the ocean.

‡ These are grinders of Elephants.

§ This is probably another whale, as Dr. M. would not have deemed elephants' bones monstrous.

‖ Five feet ten inches is too large for an elephant.

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If we look to the mighty size of a whole skeleton, and the teeth, and their crookedness, it is impossible they should be wrecks of elephants ever since the flood; though I formerly thought them to be so: but there is no manner of proportion between them and the skeleton of this huge animal*; I am therefore constrained to believe, that these teeth and bones are of sea animals, such as the Danes used formerly to bring from Greenland and Iceland, and sell for those of unicorns†.

What may make it probable that they may be relics of the flood, is, that thirty years ago the whole hull of a ship, with the keel to it, was found in the Barabintzian Tartary, far enough (six or seven hundred miles) from the ocean: and a shaped oaken beam near Tobolsky, at sixty-four *fathoms* deep.

Every year, near the habitations of the Lamuti and Koræiki in the bay of Lama, whales and other great sea animals are carried into the rivers, and when the water falls, are left on the shores. Nor is it improbable that, when the Oby, Jenesai, and other rivers swell in so extraordinary a manner, there should be such teeth or horns of Greenland sea animals, carried up and thrown on the banks of the rivers, as we have seen in the example of a sword fish‡. Or it may be conjectured, that the *Mare Glaciale* went farther into the land before the flood; and, at the fall of the waters, left these creatures in the mud behind.

It is observable that the mammoths' teeth are mostly found near the Mare Glaciale, in rivers which discharge themselves into the sea§.

* The tusks are here attributed to the whale.

† This means the Monodon or Narwal.

‡ This also must allude to the Narwal.

§ Although some elephants' tusks have been found in the places here alluded to, the remark, it is very reasonable to suppose, arises from the great number of walrus's tusks, found in that quarter: Strahlenberg *never having mentioned that fishery.*

Should any one hereafter account better for these appearances, I shall willingly retract my opinion*." Strahlenberg, p. 402.

" On the banks of the Oby, and about Surgute, a great many tusks, called Mammon's horns, are found. I have seen them weighing above one hundred pounds. The commandant had several, and gave me one which I presented to Sir Hans Sloane, who was of opinion that it was an elephant's tooth. The Tartars relate many fables of its having been seen alive. The Siberians in the Baraba told me, that *they have seen the creature called Mammon, at the dawn of day, near lakes and rivers: but, that on discovering them, the mammon immediately tumbles into the water, and never appears in the daytime.* They say, it is about the size of a large elephant, with a monstrous large head and horns, with which he makes his way in marshy places, and under ground, where he conceals himself till night. I only mention these things as the reports of a superstitious and ignorant people. I have observed in most of the towns we passed between Tobolsk and Jenesai, many of these mammon's horns, like the best ivory, except in the colour, which was of a yellowish hue†."

* The reader will be able to form a judgment of the effect of storms from the ocean, floods from the melting of snow, and the consequent rapid changes of the surface in Siberia.—Elephants at the mouth of the Lena, whales eight hundred miles inland!

† Bell of Antermony, Ch. XIV. It appears by this, that the natives in these parts call both the tusks of the elephant and the living walrus by the name of Mammon; for, what they told Mr. Bell about having seen them alive, may very easily have been true, as walruses might visit those waters; though it was natural for Mr. B., like Strahlenberg, to treat as ignorance the assertion that *elephants* live in the rivers, he not imagining that they alluded to the walrus. This is the usual misunderstanding throughout. It was to be expected that numbers of elephants' bones might be found in these parts, where Kublai's and Timur Kaan's wars and invasions, sometimes of three hundred thousand troops, were carried on for upwards of thirty years, as is shown in Chap. V.

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The reader will be able to judge, by the preceding extracts, what confusion of ideas exists, even in Siberia, on this subject, among the most intelligent gentlemen who have resided there for years. The main facts on which the writer founds his proofs in this essay were either unheeded, or unknown to Europeans in that country, viz. the immense invasions, during the reigns of the Grand Khans, Kublai and Timur Kaan, from China, and India beyond the Burrampooter: and the vast numbers of walruses and narwhals, at the mouths of the Lena, Jenesai, and the Oby.

We will now endeavour to show, that wherever bones which are really of the elephant have been found, they may, without any violation of probability, be referred to the wars from the earliest times with China, and Tangut, which reaches to Assam; besides the connection there may have been with Hindostan from the western frontier of that country, for much more than twenty centuries.

The great number of years the descendants of Genghis Khan reigned in Siberia may also account for many of the remains of those animals, which, according to the invariable custom of the Moguls, were received as presents, and used for the purposes of pleasure and hunting. In those instances which follow, there are, probably, some which relate merely to *reports* made to Europeans by the Siberians of mammoth bones, (meaning walruses); and which the Europeans would erroneously conclude, meant elephants: such as in the general assertion about those described in XXVII.

FOSSIL BONES FOUND IN RUSSIA AND SIBERIA.

I. Sur un rivage de la *Toura,* dont les couches sont horizontales, je vis quelques os d'éléphans: ils ont été trouvé avec des belemnites et des glossopetres petrifiés. (See XL.) Pallas, Vol. III. p. 324.

Note.—The first capital of the Mongols was on the river Tura, or Toura, and was named Genghis Toura, two hundred and fifty-four versts west of Tobolsk and Sibir.—Tooke, II. 60.

II. At Tschirikovo on the Siviaga, thirty versts from *Simbersk,* bones of elephants were found in several places.

Note.—This is in the district of Kazan, governed by Genghis's descendants.

III. On the river Irguis, near *Samara,* a horn of a buffalo weighing more than eight pounds.

Note.—The Samara runs from the Yaik, Batou's and Sheibani's territory, into the Volga, government of Kazan.—Levesque, Vol. VIII. 268. (See XXXVIII. respecting buffaloes.)

IV. At Kalmycova, on the *Yaik,* bones of an elephant, and the top of a buffalo's skull, with the horns upon it.

Note.—Batou founded a Golden Horde on the Yaik: Sheibani had hereditary possessions there, and the vestiges of Saratchiensk are still visible.—Strahlenberg, 266. Tooke, II. 60. Levesque, Vol. VIII. 268.

V. Near the Oufa the head and bones of an elephant.

Note.—The Oufa is in the district of Kazan.

VI. Near the river Iset, and the convent Dolmatof, fifty versts from Kamenski and Tamakoulskaiai, some elephants' bones were found "en fouillant une mine de fer."—(Pallas). Mammoths' bones were

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found near the Tobol, at Alacul, and Dolmatoff.—(Herman's Mineralogical Map).

Note.—The Iset, Dolmatoff, and the Tobol are near Tiumen, Sheibani's capital.

VII. On the borders of the great and little Souvarisch, many teeth and bones were found spread about, and in good preservation.

Note.—This place has not been found on the map.

VIII. Near the Ischim and Karrassoun, on the river bank, bones, a tusk and tooth of an elephant.

Note.—The Ischim runs into the Irtish, less than a degree south of Sibir and Tobolsk.

IX. At Tobolsk there is a very remarkably thick tusk, four ells and a quarter long. (A Russian ell is twenty-eight inches English). It was found near the river Ischim: and an enormous buffalo horn was brought from the country watered by the Ischim, Vagai, and Irtish.

Note.—Sibir is on the Irtish, close to the Vagai, or Viaga, and lower down is the Ischim.

X. Near Tschenolonskaia-Krasnoyar on the Irtish, bones and teeth of an elephant.

Note.—Not found on the map. Timur Kaan's battles were, most of them, on the Irtish.

XI. From Beresof, one hundred and fifty versts, and three versts above Kousevarzskoi-Pogort on the Oby: several elephants' bones, and a large buffalo's skull, were found.

Note.—Beresof is north of Tobolsk, lat. 63° 56′, whither the Tobolskians go to traffic with the Ostiacks and Vogoules.—Levesque, Vol. VIII. p. 283.

XII. At north Jenesai, below Selakina, and near the Krasnoyark; a tooth and bones of an elephant. (See XXXIX).

XIII. At Beresofski, which runs into the Alei, teeth and bones of an elephant: teeth supposed to be of a buffalo, and of other animals unknown to me.—Pallas. (See remarks on XXXII).

XIV. Remains of a rhinoceros were discovered forty versts above Simovie de Vilouiskoe, on the sands of the river, one toise from the water, and four toises from a high bank. The animal was $3\frac{3}{4}$ ells long, $3\frac{1}{2}$ high. (Supposed to mean a Russian arshine; twenty-eight inches English). It had the skin on, and was much corrupted. "I saw the head and feet at Irkutsk, the skin shewed its exterior organization: the head had all the skin on: the eye-lids were not entirely destroyed; and there were many short hairs. (The above extracts are from the "Voyage dans l'Asie Septentrionale," by Pallas.) (See XXXIX. and Chap. XVIII).

XV. Mr. Martin has a jaw bone, several grinders, a calcined ivory tooth, and a rib of an elephant; found under the surface of the soil at Levino, fifty versts from Penza, and a piece of an elephant's tooth found in the brook Shuksha. This fragment appears to be part of a perfectly sound tooth, very crooked, and much furrowed on the outside. These vestiges of a former deluge are discoverable in the uppermost sandy and loamy strata, which are frequently intermingled with cylindrical stones: and, in the deeper clayey layers, there are found the remains of marine productions: even on the heights of Penza, in sinking a well at a considerable depth, large quantities of oysters were discovered in a bed of clay.—Pallas's Southern Travels, Eng. Ed. Vol. I. p. 47. (See XL).

Note.—Penza is between the Volga and the Don.

XVI. Near Katinskoi, on the Don, thirty versts from Voronetz, on the brink of the river, were found, in 1784, vast numbers of bones of very large size, dispersed in the greatest disorder: they con-

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sist of teeth, tusks, jaw bones, ribs, spinal vertebræ, the os pubis, hip bones, tibia, &c, not petrified, but somewhat decomposed.—Selections from the Gent's. Mag. Vol. II. p. 463.

Note.—It will be seen that the Don was the Mogul frontier, by what follows. "There are high promontories on the sea shore, from Kersova to the mouth of the Tanais, (Don): and at Kersova and Soldaia there are forty castles. Beyond these mountains, to the north, there is a most beautiful wood, in a flat pleasant country, full of springs and rivulets. Beyond the wood, there is a mighty plain, five days' journey unto the end of the province, northward; and there is a narrow neck of land, having the sea on the east and west sides, and a canal from one side to the other. The Tartars drove the Comanians to the sea shore.

Towards the borders of the province, there are many salt-pits in the lakes, where the salt becomes hard, like ice. Out of these pits Batou and Sartach have great revenues; for they repair thither out of all Russia for salt, and for each cart-load they give two webs of cotton. There come ships for salt, which also pay tribute.

The third day after we left these precincts, we found the Tartars; and I thought myself in a new world: they flocked about us, and were very inquisitive. I answered, that we had heard that their prince, Sartach, had become a Christian, and that I had your Majesty's letters to him, and was proceeding with them; and that, if they permitted me not, I would return to Batou's kinsman, Zagatai, who was in the same province, and to whom the Emperor of Constantinople had written to let me pass through his territories. (Voronetz was, probably, this Zagatai's government). The day following, we met the carts of Zagatai, laden with houses, and moving like a city; they were drawn, some by camels, most by oxen, of which I counted twenty-two to one cart,

the axle of which was as thick as the mast of a ship. We were admitted into Zagatai's presence, with fear and bashfulness; and I delivered the letter from the Emperor of Constantinople. He inquired the subject of your Majesty's (Louis IX.) letters to Sartach. I answered, "the words of Christian faith." He asked what they were, and I expounded the Apostles' Creed, as well as I could, through a sorry interpreter: which, after he had heard, he shook his head.

We travelled eastward, having the sea on the south, and a plain on the north, twenty days' journey in breadth, without tree or stone; it is a most excellent pasture. To the north is Russia, wasted by the Tartars. We now arrived at the banks of the Tanais; it is here as broad as the Seine at Paris. Batou and Sartach had caused cottages to be built for some Russians to dwell in, to ferry over ambassadors and merchants. This river is the *limit* of the east part of *Russia*, seven hundred miles in extent, and falls into the Black Sea; and all the rivers we passed run into it. These Tartars remove no farther north, but begin to return to the south on the first of August. The two rivers, where we travelled, are ten days' journey from each other.

We found Sartach within three days' journey of the Etilia, or Volga; his court seemed very great, for he had six wives; his eldest son had three; every one of which hath a great house, and above two hundred carts. We were introduced to Sartach, and entered singing *Salve Regina,* and delivered your Majesty's letters; which, being interpreted and heard, he permitted us to carry our vestments and books to our own lodging. The next morning, we were told that there were difficulties which Sartach dare not determine on without the advice of his father Batou. This Sartach will not suffer himself to be called a Christian.

We arrived at the court of Batou, (Serai), which, from the numerous

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houses and tents, appeared like a mighty city three or four leagues long."—Rubruquis, in Harris, Vol. I. 556. A. D. 1253.

Note.—Voronetz, according to Rubruquis, is on the frontier of Russia. Casimof, a Tartar Khanate is north; the Crimea south; Serai, Kazan, and Bolgar, east; all residences of princes of the imperial blood of Genghis. It is very probable that there was a Khan at Voronetz, for the Tartars appointed viceroys at Kief and every where.—Tooke, Vol. II. p. 11. And Voronetz is a central position. Peter the Great was of opinion that the bones of the elephants found at Voronetz were left when Alexander the Great crossed the Don, according to some authors, and advanced to Kostinka. But Alexander did not cross the Don.—Vide Introduction, and also Tooke's Hist. Vol. I. p. 398. There are many gypsies at Voronetz.—Rees's Cyc. "Woronetz."

The Romans were *possibly* also at the Don. "The Emperor Decius posted Gallus on the banks of the Tanais, with a competent force; and led in person the remainder of his army against the Scythians. This expedition succeeded to his utmost wish. But Gallus intrigued with the barbarians, and retained his post on the banks of the river: Decius was decoyed into a marsh, and was so assailed by missiles, while in the mire, that he was killed, and also his son; nor did one of his army escape with life: and Gallus succeeded to the empire."—Zosimus, p. 15*.

XVII. Among the hills not far from Makofskoi, remains of mammuts are found also on the shores of the rivers Jenesai, Trugan, Mongamsea,

* Gibbon, on the authority of Tillemont, says, that this fatal affair was on the *Danube*. Count Zosimus was *Chancellor of the Empire*, under Theodosius the younger, at Constantinople.

and Lena, even to the frozen sea. The ice, from its vast force in the spring, carries high banks before it, and breaks off the tops of hills; when these animals, or their teeth only*, are discovered. A person I had with me, who had annually gone out in search of these bones, told me, that he and his companions had found the head of one of these creatures. The greatest part of the flesh was rotten: the teeth were placed like those of the elephant; they cut off a fore foot, the circumference being as large as the waist of an ordinary man. The bones of the head were somewhat red, as though they were tinctured with blood. The heathens of Yakuti, Tungusi, and Ostiaki, say, they mostly live under ground, and tell us they have often seen the earth heave up, when one of these beasts was upon the march, and when he was passed, the place sinks in, and leaves a deep pit. That when they come unawares out of the ground, they die on smelling the air: but they are never seen. The old Siberians are of opinion, that there were elephants in this country before the flood, when the climate was warmer; and that, after floating, they were washed and forced into cavities; that then the air changed to cold, and froze them. The above person told me, he once found two teeth that weighed four hundred German pounds; a *great many lesser* teeth are found. No one ever saw one of these animals, therefore, all we can say about its shape is conjecture.—Isbrants Ides, in Harris, II. 928.

Note.—The great many lesser teeth are of the walrus; and the tales told about the walrus are here confounded with the elephant. *Vide* Ch. XVI. of this Vol.

XVIII. At Astrachan, a grinder was found; others are often found on the borders of the Yaik, encrusted with shells. (See XL.) De Lille

* Walruses shed their tusks, elephants do not, except once, when about a year old. Vide Ch. XV. Walruses climb upon eminences to feed on the moss.

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found some fragments on the borders of the Yaik.—Cuvier, p. 148. (See the note on IV.)

XIX. At Swijatowski, seventeen versts from St. Petersburg, in 1775, remains of a large elephant.—Cuvier.

Note.—Presents of elephants have often been sent to St. Petersburg. Thamas Kouli Khan, in 1741, sent at one time fourteen, for the Emperor and the great lords of the Court.—Levesque, Vol. V. p. 251.

The writer saw an elephant at St. Petersburg. Two, he was told, had been sent by the sovereign of Cabul to the Emperor Paul; one of them died on the journey.

XX. Near the Volga, a large skull.—Cuvier, p. 140.

Note.—Astrachan, Serai, and Cazan, residences of Mongol Khans, for three hundred years, are all on the Volga.

XXI. At Malochnye Vodi, near the Palus Mæotis, at the depth of forty-five feet, "une portion de tete de femur, qui annonce un individu de quatorze ou quinze pieds de haut. Deja Phlegon de Tralles, sur la foi de Theopompe de Synope, avoit parlé d'un cadavre, disoit il, de vingt quatre coudées, mis au jour par un tremblement de terre, près du Bosphore Cimmerien; et dont on jeta les os dans le Palus Meotide."—Cuvier, 141.

Note.—These parts were during five hundred years frequented by the Mongols. The *cadavre* must surely be a whale.

XXII. At Stanoi Jarks, on the banks of the Indigerska, a skull. J. B. Muller speaks of a tusk, the cavity of which was full of a substance resembling curdled blood.—Cuvier, 145. See XXXIX.

XXIII. An elephant nearly entire, and some long hairs upon it, was discovered by Sarytchef, on the banks of the Alaseia, beyond the Indigerska.

In 1805, M. Tilasius received a bunch (faisçeau) of hair pulled by one Patapof from the carcass of a mammoth near the shore of the

frozen sea. Some of the hair and a piece of the skin of this individual is in the cabinet du Roi.—Cuvier, 147. (See XXXIX.)

XXIV. Elephants' bones have been found along the Kama, mixed with marine shells, by the River Irguin. And some mixed with rhinoceros' bones.—Cuvier.

Note.—The Kama runs into the Volga near Kazan. The Irguin is not found.

XXV. At Kazan, a thigh bone of an elephant; and near Struchoff, in the government of Cazan, a whole skeleton.—Cuvier, 148. (See the remark on XX.)

XXVI. Pallas gives a long list of tusks, grinders, and bones of elephants and rhinoceroses sent from the borders of the Siviaga.—Cuvier.

Note.—The Siviaga runs into the Volga, some miles west of the city of Kazan. See remarks on XX.

XXVII. The Samoyeds find many elephants' bones on the naked plains through which the Oby runs to the sea.—Cuvier.

Note. In Ch. V. it is shewn, that immense armies were kept in Siberia for many years to dispute the empire: that they were stationed about the Irtish, and that they drove Caidou, the rebel, in the year 1297, *further into the north.*

XVIII. An enormous heap was found at Kutschewarski on the Oby.—Cuvier. (See XXXIX.)

Note.—This place is not on the maps which the writer has seen. The ruins of the Mongol town of Tontoura, near Tomsk, are on the Oby.

XXIX. A grinder and some bones were procured by Pallas, near the mouth of the Obdorsk.—Cuvier. (See XXVII.)

XXX. The Irtish and the Tobol, the Toura and the Isete, have, perhaps, afforded the greatest quantity of remains: they are found at

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Verkotourie, near the source of the Toura, and along the Irtish, under various soils, and mixed with shells.—Cuvier, 149.

Note.—These rivers are all in the very neighbourhood of the places where the Mongol sovereigns resided during three centuries.

XXXI. The banks of the Ticuman, the Tom, and the Keta, furnish elephants' remains.—Cuvier. (See remark on XXX. and Ch. V.)

XXXII. Remains were found on the Alei and at the foot of the mountain in which the Oby rises.—Cuvier.

Note.—The Alei runs into the Oby near the country of the Albintzi, who are supposed to be Mongols, two or three degrees south of the ruins of Tontoura, near Tomsk.—Levesque, Vol. VII. 420.

XXXIII. "Pallas assure avoir une molaire tirée d'une mine de la montagne de serpens, et trouvée avec des entrogues."—Cuvier, p. 150.

Note.—Remains have also been found in the mines of Britain, and may have been conveyed thither by miners. There can be no reason to conclude that the entrochi and the tooth are coeval.

XXXIV. Remains have often been found near Krasnoyarsk, to lat. 70° below Selaniko. (See flag, No. 27, on the map). On the Angara. On the Chatang. At Irkutsk. Between the Lena and Jenesai.—See XXXIX.

XXXV. On the banks of the Kolyma and the Anadyr, remains of elephants have been found. See XXXIX.

XXXVI. The greatest quantity is found on the islands between the mouths of the Lena and Indigerska. The nearest island is thirty-six leagues in length. The whole island, (it has often been repeated) is formed of mammoths' bones, with horns and skulls of buffaloes, or some animal which resembles them, and some rhinoceroses' horns. Another island, five leagues farther, and twelve leagues long, furnishes the same bones and teeth.—Cuvier, 151. According to Pallas, there

is scarcely a river, from the Don to the Tschutskoi Nos, in the banks of which the bones are not abundant. And the two islands at the mouth of the Indigerska seem entirely composed of these bones, and those of the elk, rhinoceros, and other large quadrupeds.—Rees's Addenda. "Mammoth."

Note.—These are the paragraphs and allusions which have filled the world with astonishment; and history, geology, and natural history, with marvellous perplexity and conjecture. Instead of elephants, rhinoseroses, elks, and buffaloes of foreign regions having furnished these heaps of bones, it will be seen that they are remains of native animals of the places where they are found. The elephants and rhinoceroses, which have been found in Siberia, have caused the confusion. Here mammoths are walruses: to prove which, the reader is referred to Strahlenberg, p. 402; Muschkin Puschkin in Pere Avril's Travels, p. 176; and to this Vol. Chap. XVI.

Unicorns are narwhals, which are called sea-unicorns, and abound in that sea: they also go up the rivers.—Rees' Cyc. "Unicorn." Strahlenberg, p. 405.

Elks abound in Siberia, and in the most northern parts. The Russians call them Losh; the Siberians name them Kuyck. They are of an immense size; the hides are valuable, and they supply a great quantity of food. The natives kill about four hundred annually at Wilwa, near the river Pytschiora, the mouth of which is in latitude 67°.—See Strahlenberg, p. 361. There are elks also in Nova Zembla.—Abul Ghazi, notes, Vol. II. p. 663.

The horns of the animal resembling a buffalo may be the cattle of the country: the largest cattle of this kind are found among the Calmuc Tartars. (Encyc. Brit. "Bos.") The Burat hairy bull is more like the Yak of Thibet and Napaul than to the ordinary cattle; and the vicinity of Tangut and China may have introduced a variety of such ani-

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mals; besides which there are wild cattle like the urus in Siberia. These animals, and the elk, may have supplied the fishers with diet for many centuries. The information is derived from the walrus and narwhal fishermen, who are the native Tunguses, Yakutes, and Yukagri, no traveller or naturalist having visited those islands. Pallas does not appear to have been within twenty degrees of the latitude of those isles, nor does he mention the *Walrus* fisheries; neither do Strahlenberg nor Mr. Adams. Goldsmith, in his Natural History, says, *quantities of the bones of the walrus* are found on the coasts of the North Sea. Do not these elucidations assist, in a most material manner, to untie this Gordian Knot?

XXXVII. A petrified fragment was found in the sea of Aral. See XL. The borders of the Jaxartes produce some: the Bucharians bring ivory from that place.—Cuvier, 152.

Note.—There are Bucharians resident at Tobolsk, Tiumen, Tara, and Tourinsk, all of which are places in which the tusks of elephants and walruses are articles of traffic.

XXXVIII. On the hills and in the woods, near Tomsk, is found the urus, exceeding in size and strength all the horned species: no animal is so fierce. There is in the same woods a species of oxen not so big as the Urus, with a high shoulder and a flowing tail like a horse.—Bell of Antermony, Chap. III. Of the craniums of two animals found in Siberia, Pallas refers one to the ordinary buffalo, but has since attributed them to a species, natives of Thibet, named Arni. Cuvier proves, by osteologic comparison, that those craniums have not belonged to the buffalo. The other appeared to Pallas to have belonged to the cape or musk ox of Canada. Cuvier shews that they cannot have belonged to the former, but he has not a cranium of the arni or musk ox, to compare with them.—Rees's Cycl. "Bones."

Note.—The buffalo's bones, found in Siberia, were probably from

Assam, Thibet, or China; and of a kind that may never have been known to European naturalists. They must have been very common, as armour was often made of buffalo hides, hardened by fire *. In the year 1289, Timur Kaan was Governor of Yunan and seven neighbouring kingdoms, Bangalla, Mien, &c. It was he who invaded Siberia.—See Marco Polo, p. 424, note 827. These countries, and Siberia itself, produce many varieties of the bos genus, some of which might accompany a Tartar army as beasts of burthen. "The oxen which draw the houses of the Mongols are the finest ornament of their equipages; they are extremely strong, have hair like horses, and that on their tails is white, and soft as silk. They are from the country of Tangut, and are very dear."—Petis de la Croix, p. 358. In addition to the above, it appears, in Van Braam's Journal, March 25, 1795, that buffaloes are employed by the Chinese to draw their four-wheeled carts; and many may thus have been in Siberia with the armies.

XXXIX. In the Chapter on Siberia, it has been shewn that the neighbourhood of Irkutsk, Angara, and Baikal, is the original sovereignty of Genghis's family, and his birth place. The most ancient Tartar duke had his court there, when Carpini passed, in 1246. The Grand Khans sent to the mouth of the Lena, and to an *island in the Arctic Sea*, for ger-falcons and peregrine-falcons. In the chapter on Kublai, it appears that he kept many thousands of falconers, and that his elephants were made use of on all occasions, even sent to any distance to fetch evergreen trees, with their roots, for his gardens. There can be no doubt but the tribute in furs must have been great, to supply such numerous and rich sovereigns, and their sumptuous courts: and that they were collected up to the Arctic Sea, at the Oby

* Marco Polo, p. 210.

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and Jenesai, as well as at the Lena, to the mouth of which the natives were driven by the Mongols. Mongols inhabit above the river Tungouska. (Tooke, I. 265.) The peissy, some white and some dove colour, the size of a fox, with a thick warm fur, which is found *far to the north of Jenesai,* is much esteemed by the great men in the north of China.—Bell of Antermony, Ch. III. It is not in the least probable, that the Grand Khan, after the year 1272, did not send elephants both for the purposes of war, (as he *always* used them in his armies), and also for the pleasures of hunting, to his near relations, the sovereigns of Siberia and Capschac: possessing, as he did, thousands and receiving them annually in tribute*. If the British army dared meet Cæsar, but fled at the sight of his elephant, we may judge how useful those animals would be in Siberia: thus, elephants may have been sent to every country. It is not necessary that the elephants and rhinoceroses should have been sent to the *mouths* of the rivers: they may have floated from a considerable distance, and been blown into other rivers.

XL. As shells and marine substances are found every where, there appears no good reason to conclude that they are coeval with the fossil bones. The Caspian, Lake Aral, and the region around, are all salt: which may account for marine shells adhering to some of the fossil bones: and also for their petrified appearance, if four or five centuries be not enough to petrify them.

The reader will now be able to judge whether these *heaps* of bones in particular, so amply accounted for in Ch. XVI. but described as

* In Chapter IV. we have seen that Timur presented his friends with elephants. The Mogul Emperor, Akbar, gave presents of elephants *daily*. Ayeen Akbari, Vol. I. p. 221. Kublai's means of doing the same thing were much greater than Akbar's. It has ever been the custom in these countries. See Xenophon, Cyropædia, B. VIII. p. 214.

elephants &c. from the *reports* of the Siberians, or the Europeans in Siberia, may not have been walrus, narwal, whale, or other remains, such as we might expect to find accumulated in those very places after more than two thousand years that these fisheries have been known.

ON THE ELEPHANT FOUND IN THE ICE AT THE MOUTH OF THE LENA.

Mr. Adams set out from Yakutsk on the 7th of June, and towards the end of the month reached Kumak-Surka, where he was detained by contrary winds; this place was inhabited by forty or fifty Tunguse families, who were then fishing to provide the winter stock. All the coast was covered with scaffolding and *cabanes* quite filled with people, full of innocent gaiety, actively employed, singing while throwing their nets, and some dancing the *charya*, a dance of that country. "I was filled with emotions of joy," says Mr. Adams, "at these delightful scenes and so much happiness amidst the polar ice."

There are not any islands at the mouth of the Lena, near to which it is narrower, more rapid, and deeper than in any part of its course*.

The opposite side of the river is highly picturesque. The mountains present a variety of scenes which exalt the soul: their summits covered with snow, with an azure tint, contrast finely with the deep, dark, and wild vallies. The painter might in vain seek in Siberia more beautiful scenes than are found at Kumak-Surka, and which are celebrated in the songs of the natives.

* Monsieur Lesseps crossed this noble river at *Yakutsk*, on the 29th of June: he was four hours on the passage, in a diagonal direction, and estimates the width at two leagues. See his Journal, Vol. II. p. 289.

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The wind, at length, being fair, "I sent my rein-deer across the river," says Mr. Adams, "and followed the next morning, *au lever du soleil*, accompanied by Schumachoff, and sixteen others. The saddle of my rein-deer being tied only with a leather strap, and the Tunguses not making use of stirrups, I had several falls, and experienced pain and inconvenience*."

After two days' journey over mountains, vallies, and arid plains, the party crossed the isthmus of Tamut, where many wild rein-deer are caught in the autumn, as they migrate towards Borchaya in the Icy Sea. On the third day, the tents were pitched, a few hundred paces from the mammoth.

Towards the end of August, when the fisheries of the Lena are over, Schumachoff and his brethren visit the isthmus of Tamut, to hunt or fish. In 1799, having built a dwelling for his wife on the borders of lake Oncoul, il s'embarqua pour aller voir s'il ne trouveroit sur les cotes quelques cornes de Mammouth†. Un jour il apperçut au milieu des glaçons, un bloc informe qui ne ressembloit en rien aux amas de bois flottant qu'on a coutume d'y trouver. Il mit pied á terre, grimpa sur un rocher, et observa dans toutes ses faces, cet object nouveau, mais il ne put reconnoitre ce que c'etoit. L'année suivante il decouv-

* Marco Polo had asserted that the natives of Siberia ride upon rein-deer, which was supposed to be a wrong translation of an early version. This is *another* and a very remarkable proof of that traveller's extensive information, and of his correctness. See Marsden's M. Polo, p. 222; Behring's Travels; Abul Ghazi, Vol. II. p. 640; and Lesseps's Journal, Vol. II. p. 303. The eastern part of Siberia, in which is the Lena, was in the Grand Khan's division, and is named Northern Turquestan. (De la Croix's Map, Life of Timur, Vol. II. p. 426.) Mr. Adams found ruins of ancient forts in these parts, and also mutilated remains of grotesque figures.

† By which Mr. A. no doubt understood elephants' tusks: but these are the regions where the natives range the coast in search of tusks of the walrus, as a regular and certain subsistence; and which, as has been shewn, they name Mammoth.

rit au meme lieu la carcasse d'une vache marine (trichechus rosmarus). La masse, qu'il avoit vu autrefois, étoit plus dégagée des glaçons: mais il ne savoit encore ce que ce pouvoit etre. Vers la fin de l'été suivant, le flanc tout entier de l'animal et une des défenses etoient distinctement sorties des glaçons.

A son retour aux bords du lac Oncoul, il communiqua cette découverte extraordinaire á sa femme et á quelques-uns de ses amis; mais leur manière d'envisager la chose, le combla d'amertume et de tristesse. Les vieillards racontoient, qu'ils avoient ouï dire á leurs pères, qu'un monstre pareil s'étoit fait voir jadis dans la meme presqu'ile, et que toute la famille de celui qui l'avoit aperçu, avoit été eteinte en très-peu de temps. Le mamouth, pér conséquent, fut unanimement envisagé comme un augure d'une calamité future; et le chef Tunguse en conçut une si vive inquiétude qu'il tomba dangereusement malade; mais, enfin, etant un peu convalescent, sa première idée fut le profit qu'il pouvoit avoir en vendant les défenses de cet animal, qui étoient d'une beauté et d'une grandeur extraordinaire.

Il donna ordre de cacher soigneusement l'endroit où le mamouth se trouvoit, et d'en éloigner, sous différens prétextes, tous les étrangers: chargeant en même temps des gens affidés, de veiller á ce qu'on n'enlevat ce trésor.

Enfin, vers la fin de la cinquième année, les désirs ardens de Schumachoff furent heureusement accomplis*; car la partie des glaces qui se trouvoit entre les terres et le mamouth, ayant fondu plus vite que le reste, le niveau devint pente, et cette masse énorme, poussée par son propre poids, vint s'échouer á la côte sur un banc de sable. C'est ce dont furent témoins deux Tonguses, qui depuis m'ont accompagné dans mon voyage.

* The reader will judge whether it can be a common occurrence to find *elephants'* tusks.

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Au mois de Mars, 1804, Schumachoff vint á son mamouth, et lui ayant fait couper les cornes, il les echangea avec le marchand Baltunoff contre des marchandises, pour la valeur de cinquante rubles.

Deux années après, par conséquent dans la septième de la découverte du mamouth, un hazard heureux voulut que je parcourusse ces regions, et je me félicite de pouvoir constater un fait qu'on auroit cru si invraisemblable. Je trouvai le mamouth, encore sur le meme lieu mais tout-á-fait mutilé. Le propriétaire se tenoit content du profit qu'il en avoit tiré, et les Jakutes du voisinage dépeceoient les chairs, dont ils nourissoient leurs chiens pendant la disette. Les bêtes féroces, les ours blancs, les loups, les goulus, et les renards, en fesoient de meme.

Le squélette presque décharné se trouvoit tout entier á l'exception d'un pied de devant. Les yeux out été préservés et l'on distinguoit encore á l'œil gauche la prunelle. Les parties les moins endommagées sont, un pied de devant et un de derriere; ils sont couvert de peau et ont encore la solle. Suivant l'assertion du chef Tunguse, l'animal avoit été *si gros et si bien nourri,* que le ventre lui pendoit jusqu'au dela des jointures des genoux*. C'est un mâle, avec une longue crinière au col, mais sans queue; et sans trompe, selon Schumachoff†; mais il me paroit plus probable qu'elle a été enlevée par les betes féroces.

La peau dont je possède les trois quarts est d'un gris foncé, et couverte d'un poil rougeatre, et de crins noirs. La carcasse a une hau-

* This is the kind of elephant which is, at Tipera, called Koomareah, or Dauntelah. See Ch. XV. of this Vol.

† If this animal had been killed in warfare, the trunk might have been cut off, which was not uncommon. "In a short time, the field of battle was covered with elephants' trunks, and the heads and bodies of the slain." Sherefeddin's Life of Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 59. In the battle of Magnesia, Scipio's troops cut off the trunks of above thirty of the elephants of Antiochus. Livy, B. XXXVII.

teur de quatre archines, (nine feet four inches English) sur près de sept de longueur (sixteen feet four inches) depuis la pointe du nez jusqu 'au coccix*. Chacune des deux cornes a une toise et demi de long, et les deux ensemble pèsent dix pouds (three hundred and sixty pounds)†. La tête seule pèse onze et demi pouds (four hundred and fourteen pounds). Je fis fouiller le terrain pour recueillir tous les crins que les ours blancs avoient foulés dans le sol humide, en dévorant les chairs. Je réussis á me procurer plus d'un poud de crins.

Le lieu oú j'ai trouvé le mamouth, est éloigné de la côte d'environ 60 pas; et de l'escarpement de la glace d'oú il avoit glissé, de près de 100 pas. Cet escarpement occupe précisément le milieu entre les deux pointes de l'isthme, et a trois verstes de long, et dans la place même oú se trouvoit le mamouth cette roche a une elevation perpendiculaire de 30 á 40 toises: l'animal etoit á sept toises de la superficie de la glace. Sa substance est une glace claire, pure et d'un gout piquant; elle s'incline vers la mer; sa cime est couverte d'une couche de mousse et de terre friable d'une demie archine d'epaisseur. Pendant les chaleurs du mois de Juillet une partie de cette croute se fond, mais l'autre reste gêlée.

La curiosité me fit monter sur deux autres collines assez éloignées de la mer; elles étoient de la meme matière et moins couvertes de *mousse*. De distance en distance, on voyoit des morceaux de bois d'une grandeur énorme, et de toutes les espéces que produit la Sibérie: les habitans appellent cette espèce de bois Adamshina; et la distinguent des bois flottants qu'ils appellent Noahshina‡. On voyoit aussi des cornes de mamouth en grande quantité, qui s'élevoient entre les

* "Le coccix qui forme l'alongement du bassin prouve evidemment que l'animal n'a point eu de queue," says Mr. Adams; but when the skeleton was carefully put together, it was found that a part of the tail remained; as appears in the engraving in Baron Cuvier's great work.

† See Plate, Ch. IX.

‡ The *Mahomedan* Mongols are familiar with the history of the deluge.

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creux des rochers. Elles paroissoient toutes d'une *fraicheur étonnante**. Toute la côte etoit comme tapissée des plantes les plus variées et les plus belles que produisent les bords de la mer glaciale; mais elles n'avoient que deux pouces de haut.

* Mr. Adams does not mention any other particulars of this most extraordinary discovery; and, as the size of the tusks is not mentioned, it is probable that Mr. A. may have seen morse tusks, for the following reasons:

I. It appears (in Chap. XVI.) that all writers and travellers mention the extraordinary *whiteness* of *morse* tusks; but that the large elephants' tusks are dirty and stained.

II. Schumachoff, if he was present, would naturally call them Behemoth or Mamoth tusks, that being, according to Muschkin Puschkin and Strahlenberg, the name of the morse in those regions.

III. "Near Anadyr, and the Tchudskoi promontory, an *astonishing quantity* of morse teeth are found, which leads Gmelin to believe that they retire to these unfrequented regions for shedding their large old tusks, for young ones." Tooke's Russia, Vol. III. p. 100. Narwal's horns are also found in those parts of Siberia. Encyc. Brit. "Siberia."

IV. "Morses' tusks are found an ell and a half long, (a Russian ell is twenty-eight inches English), and thirty pounds weight." Buffon, XXXIV. 62.

V. Eminent naturalists, even Daubenton, have mistaken morses' tusks for those of the elephant. (Cuvier, p. 142). If these were elephants' tusks, it may truly be said to be a greater wonder than to find the animal floated to the mouth of the river; but, when we consider that the morses are natives of those *mossy* rocks, and that it is their habit to climb upon the rocks to seek their food, there is every probability in favor of the supposition, that what Mr. Adams saw, was a number of morse tusks. If one or more have been brought away, (which Mr. A. does not mention), the doubt now expressed can easily be determined. It is scarcely possible to imagine that Schumachoff, who had sighed five long years after two tusks, should have left this "grande quantité," to "waste their *whiteness* in the desert air." Elephants' tusks long exposed to the air are not white; nor do elephants shed their tusks after the first year of their age, when they do not exceed the length of two inches, (Corse). The hunters after morses' tusks are likely to deposit them in such places till they return homeward. Could these belong to Schumachoff himself? If so, he certainly would not offer Mr. Adams any assistance towards approaching them. If they were not his, he would no doubt keep his intention to appropriate them to himself a secret from any one. On the whole, it appears almost certain, that they were walrus's, and not elephant's tusks; and would naturally be pointed out by Schumachoff under their real name of mammoths.

Autour de la carcasse on voyoit une multitude d'autres plantes, telles que la *cineraria aquatica* et quelques éspeces de *pedicularis,* qui ne sont point connues encore dans l'histoire naturelle. Nous érigeâmes deux croix, chacune assez solidement construite, et haute de six toises: l'une se trouve sur le roc de glace d'oú ce mamouth avoit glissé; et l'autre sur l'éminence meme oú nous l'avions trouvé. Les Tunguses ont donné á l'une le nom de Croix de l'Ambassade, et à l'autre celui de Croix de Mamouth. L'élevation elle même reçut le nom de Selichaëta, ou Montagne de Mamouth *.

Je trouvai une grande quantité d'ambre, sur le rivage. * * * Arrivé á Jakutsk j'eus le bonheur d'y racheter les defenses du mamouth, et de la j'expediai le tout pour St. Petersbourg.

Le mamouth est couvert d'un poil très epais, sur tous le corps et a sur le col une longue crinière†. Quand meme je mettrai en doute les rapports de mes compagnons de voyage, il est cependant évident, que les crins de la longueur d'une archine, qui se trouvèrent à *la tete, aux oreilles,* et au col de l'animal, ont dû, nécessairement, appartenir á la crinière. Le poil épais semble indiquer qu'il appartenoit aux régions septentrionales.

On a trouvé des restes pareils, il y a deux ans, sur les bords de la Léna á une plus grande distance de la mer; et ils étoient tombés dans le lit du fleuve: on en a trouvé d'autres dans les provinces plus méridionales du Volga, en Allemagne et meme en Espagne. Ce sont autant de preuves incontestable d'un déluge géneral, &c.

* *Selichaëta* being so different a word, it appears that the Tschudskis do not call the *elephant* by the word Mammoth: and this agrees with Strahlenberg, (p. 404), who says, that the Siberians currently believe the mammoth to be an amphibious creature. The Ostiacks call the elephant *Khosar;* the Tartars call it *Khir.*

† Is not the circumstance of this beast being thickly covered with hair, a strong presumption that it did not die in a *hot* climate? See remarks on the ecliptic in the introduction.

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Je prie le lecteur curieux de vouloir bien, dans ce moment, se contenter de cet essai. Je me propose de donner l'osteologie du mamouth, avec toute l'exactitude dont Camper nous a donné l'exemple dans un travail pareil *."

REMARKS ON THE HAIR OF THE LENA ELEPHANT.

The indefatigable and scientific labour of the Baron Cuvier enables the writer to give the exact description of the hair of this elephant, the most interesting circumstance attending it.

" La peau est semblable á celle de l'elephant vivant, mais on n'y distingue pas les points bruns qu'on remarque dans l'espéce des Indes. M. Adams assure que la peau est d'un gris foncé. Il-y-a trois sortes de poils.

I. Les plus longs ont 12 á 15 pouces; leur couleur brun †, et leur epaisseur á peu près celle d'un crin de cheval.

II. Il-y-a ensuite de plus courts, de dix de neuf pouses, qui sont en meme temps un peu plus minces, et de couleur fauve.

III. La laine, qui paroit avoir garni la racine des longs poils, a de quatre á cinq pouces de longeur, elle est assez fine, passablement douce, et un peu frisée, sur tout vers sa racine: sa couleur est un fauve clair.

* These extracts are taken from the supplement to the "Journal du Nord," No. XXXII. published at St. Petersburg, in 1805. The writer regrets that he has not seen Mr. Adams's second publication. He wrote to a friend at St. Petersburg to procure it, but his friend could not find out that it had ever appeared. The plate and description in Cuvier's fourth volume, give all the information that is necessary. The writer saw the bones of this animal immediately after they were taken out of the chests in which they were conveyed to St. Petersburg: they still retained a most powerful stench.

† The brown colour of *these* may probably be accounted for by their having been long " foulés dans le sol humide," by the wild beasts; as Mr. Adams, speaking of the general quantity, says " crins noirs."

Sur ce qui reste de peau á Petersbourg, *les poils sont usés et courts.* M. Adams nous dit q'une des oreilles de son individu, etoit garnie d'une tuffe de crins." The above is a correct description of the hairs of the same elephant, which are in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, in London:—

Mr. Adams mentions that " il est évident que les crins de la longueur d'une archine (twenty-eight inches), qui se trouvèrent encore á la tête, aux oreilles, et au col de l'animal; ont dû nécessairement, appartenir á la crinière."

The first kind of hair, twelve to fifteen inches in length, is of the thickness of the head and lip hairs of the living elephant, now (1825) in London; one is three inches and a half, and the other two inches and nine-tenths long *.

The second kind, of nine or ten inches, is in thickness like that taken from the fetlock of the living animal, which is five and a half inches long.

The third kind, or wool, is from four to five inches long.—It is shown, in Ch. XV., that Leeuwenhoek discovered the skin of a modern elephant to be full of small hairs.

The hair from the proboscis of the live elephant is stronger than the others, is three inches and four-tenths long, and corresponds with those discovered upon the body of the Dundee elephant, described in the Phil. Trans. No. 326. The hairs upon the *body* of the London living elephant were too short to be procured.

Living elephants have hair about the ears, like the one found by Mr. Adams.

Mr. Adams's account of the mane is not sufficiently distinct, to allow an accurate judgment to be formed about that particular. If the quality and disposition of the hairs upon the fossil and living elephants

* See the plate in Ch. IX.

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should be found to be similar, the only remaining difference would be in the *length*. Elephants bear a degree of cold which has been found to kill men and horses: would a change of food encourage the growth of their hair? The green winter food of a northern climate must be extremely warm and stimulating. Elephants will eat every variety of food. Sheep and cattle, in hard winters in England, are fed on the tops of fir-trees *.

The Siberian climate encourages the growth of the hair, wool, and fur of all animals.

The Burat ox, near Lake Baikal, is covered with long hair something like the Yak (Bos grunniens) †. The dogs near Sabatskoinos, have hair a quarter of an ell in length ‡. "The black ox of Tartary, that had been tamed, had long hair like the camel's, but much thicker; he was quite black, had short legs, and walked slowly and heavily; he had a saddle upon his back, and a man led him with a halter §."

The summer hair of the Argali, or wild ram, is short and sleek; the winter coat long and shaggy, much mixed with wool: the horns weigh forty pounds. They feed on bitter and acrid mountain herbs ||. Is human hair longer in Siberia than in other countries? Isbrandts Ides measured the hair of a Tungusian Prince, which he found to be four Dutch ells long: and that of his son (six years of age), seven-eighths of an ell **.

The Yakutes keep their horses *out all the winter;* they scrape aside the snow with their hoofs, to get at the grass; they eat the buds of the birch and aspen, become sleeker, fatter, and handsomer than

* Rees's Encyc. "Fir tree."

† Isbrandts Ides, in Harris's Voyage, II. p. 929, with an engraving.

‡ Strahlenberg, p. 450.

§ Pere Gerbillon, in Du Halde, Vol. II. p. 284.

|| Tooke, Vol. III. p. 78.

** In Harris's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 792.

in summer, when their hair grows long*. Favorite elephants are washed clean and oiled: the Emperor Akbar and the King of Pegu allowed sugar and ghee, or butter, to be given to their best elephants; such treatment might promote the growth of hair, in cold countries, where they would probably not be rubbed with pumice-stone; not being exposed to mud and dust†. The doubtful circumstance of the mane appears to be the only material difference between the hair of the living and of this fossil elephant. Such hairs as are upon the proboscis of the live elephant, and upon the skin (as described by Mr. Blair) of the Dundee elephant, if growing upon the back, as in the musk ox, might, from their stiffness, appear as a mane.

There does not appear to be such a difference between the bones of the Lena elephant, and those of other fossil skeletons, as to entitle the former to be considered as a different species. "From the drawing I have before me," says Baron Cuvier, "I have every reason to believe, that the sockets of the *teeth* of Mr. Adams's elephant, have the same proportional lengths with those of other fossil elephants, of which the entire skulls have been found in other places‡.

"The alveoli of the *tusks* of the fossil elephant, found on the banks of the Indigerska, of another found in Siberia, of one (seen by Baron Cuvier) at Florence, and of one from the banks of the Volga, are three times as long as those of India and Africa, of the same size. The alveoli of Mr. Adams's elephant had been somewhat mutilated by the Tunguses, and therefore an accurate idea of their length could not be

* Strahlenberg, 385. Levesque, Vol. VII. p. 436.

† "We went to the river to see the king's and great noblemen's elephants washed. When they have soaked themselves in the water, they are rubbed and cleaned with pumice-stone, and after they are dry, they are rubbed with oil of cocoa." Tavernier, P. II. B. I. Ch. XIX. Ayeen Akbery, Vol. I. p. 127.

‡ Theory of the Earth, p, 227.

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formed. This difference in the alveoli is of the more importance, as it agrees with the form of the lower jaw, and required a different conformation of the trunk of a fossil elephant*." The reader is referred to Chapter XVIII, for the reasons adduced why the fossil elephants differ from the *modern individuals which have been described.*

* Cuvier, p. 176.

CHAPTER VII.

Description of the ancient City of Bangalla, which stood at the Eastern Mouth of the Ganges, now overflowed.——Burmah. ——Pegu, &c. in the Sixteenth Century; all of which had been subject to the Grand Khans, in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.——Bloody Wars for a White Elephant.——Siege of Pegu.——Deplorable Famine.——Immense Treasures.

MUCH historical confusion has arisen from the circumstance of there having been two countries called Bengal, or Bangalla; one of which had Gour for its capital, for the space of two thousand three hundred years*: the capital of the other was Bangalla, a very ancient city, situated at the eastern mouth of the Ganges.

"In some ancient maps, and books of travels, we meet with a city named Bengalla: but no traces of such a place now exist. It is described as being near the eastern mouth of the Ganges: and I conceive, that the site of it has been carried away by the river; as, in my remembrance, a vast tract of land has disappeared thereabouts. Bengalla appears to have been in existence during the early part of the seventeenth century†."

* Vide Hamilton's East India Gazetteer, "Bengal."

† Rennel's Memoir, p. 57.

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Marco Polo relates, that the Grand Khan Kublai conquered Mien and Bangalla; which has been contradicted, in consequence, it is presumed, of its not being generally known that there were two kingdoms of that name. The object of these notes is, to prove that there *were two* kingdoms; and that Kublai conquered the eastern one.

Hindostan was frequently invaded by the Mongols, in the thirteenth century, in great force, by way of Moultan; and Great Bengal was invaded by Chitta and Tibet; but they were always repulsed with loss*.

In 1272, the Grand Khan Kublai sent an army into the countries of Vochang and Karazan, for their protection against any attack from foreigners. It was afterwards his Majesty's policy to appoint his own sons to the governments; and these places were erected into a principality for his grandson, Timur Kaan, or Cen-Temur†.

When the King of Mien (Ava) and Bengalla heard that an army of Tartars had arrived at Vochang, he advanced immediately, to prevent the Grand Khan from stationing a force on the borders of his dominions. He had a numerous army of horse and foot, and a multitude of elephants, with twelve or sixteen men in each castle upon their backs. Nestardin, (a Nestorian), a brave and able officer, was much alarmed, having but twelve thousand men, (veterans, indeed, and valiant soldiers). The king had sixty thousand troops, and one thousand elephants. Nestardin reminded his troops, that their very name was a terror to the whole world, and promised to lead them to victory.

A bloody action ensued, which lasted from morning till noon.

* Vide Dow's History, Vol. I. and Chap. II. of this Vol.

† Timur Kaan, while in this government, invaded Siberia. See Chap. V.

The Mongols were finally victorious, which was attributed to their wearing armour. Their horses being frightened by the elephants, the men dismounted, tied them to trees, and fought on foot. Two hundred elephants, or more, were captured.

From this period, the khan *has always employed elephants in his armies*, which, before that time, he had not done. The consequences of the victory were, that his Majesty acquired possession of the whole of the territories of the king of Mien and Bangalla, and annexed them to his dominions*.

" The kings of Bangala, in times past, were chosen of the Abyssinian slaves. Chandigan, Aracan, and Siripur are, by Fernandes, placed in Bangala as so many kingdoms†. Patenau, by Frederic and Fitch, is reckoned to be another Bengalan kingdom, which our countryman Fitch calleth the kingdom of Gouren; so that, under this name, Bengala, there are many seigniories, all, or most part, subject to the Mogol. (Latter end of the sixteenth century). Goura and Bengala are fair cities‡."

" The king, (Shah Jehan), sent for his second son, Sultan Sujah, from Candahar to Lahore, and conferred on him the government of the *great and little kingdoms* of Bengala §."

Vincent Le Blanc visited the *city* of Bangalla about the middle of the seventeenth century, or earlier. " Leaving Coromandel," says he,

* Marco Polo, B. II. Chapters XXXIX. XLII. and notes. Harris's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 614. In the first is a long and interesting account of this battle.

In 1279 the governor of Bengal revolted from the Patan Emperor Balin, but was defeated, and killed; this was the Great Bengal of which Gour was the capital. See Dow, Vol. I. p. 201; and Hamilton's Gazetteer, " Bengal."

† See in the Courier, Sept. 22, 1824, a letter from the Viceroy of Pegu; in which he represents that Ramoo, Chittagong, and Bengal, form part of the four great *cities* of Aracan.

‡ Purchas, Vol. I. (B.) pp. 576 and 577. Barclay's Univ. Traveller, p. 495.

§ Ogilby's Asia, Part I. p. 161.

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" we came to the kingdom of Bengale the chief town whereof bears that name by the Portuguese and other nations*, and by the natives *Batacouta,* one of the *greatest antiquity* in the Indies. Some would have it to be old Ganges, a royal town on the river Ganges. This kingdom of Bengal was, three hundred years since, subdued by the Great Khan of Tartary, but subsequently freed herself; and after that was conquered by the Parthians (Patans); and is at last subject to the Great Mogul. It contains Sirapu, Chandecan, Bacal, Aracan, and other countries. The town is situate upon one of the mouths of the Ganges, there being two principal mouths. Eastward of the kingdom is the province of Edaspa, which joins the kingdom of Aracan. On another side is the province of *Mien* and Tapacura, *under the obedience of Bengal.* On one side south is cape Sogora†; on the other Catigan, at the third outlet of the Ganges, over against Verma, (Burmah), where there are mines of chrysolites, topazes, &c. Verma formerly belonged to Bengal; the people are civil, and all nations have free traffic, Persians, Greeks, Abyssinians, Chinese, Guzerats, Jews, Georgians, &c.

CITY OF BANGALLA.

THERE is great commerce by the mouth of the Ganges up to Bengal, which is six miles by land, and twenty by water; when the tide is lowest, it is three fathoms deep round the walls of the town, so that ships safely enter the haven, and are there very numerous. 'Tis

* It is not uncommon for cities in India to have two names. Dacca, is known also by the name of Jehanguir-nagur.

† Luckipore, Chittagong, Dacca, and as far as the Cossimbazar Island, were claimed as a part of the former kingdom of Aracan, by the king of Ava, in 1796. Journal of Captain Hiram Cox, p. 300.

thought there are forty thousand families in the town, and the king dwells in a stately palace built with brick, with fine gardens to it. He keeps a great court, and his chief guard consists of women*, as is the custom in Java, Sumatra, and Fransiane: they are valiant, expert horse riders and vaulters, and use the scimitar, buckler, and battle-axe dexterously: the handsomest are richly attired. The king is an idolater, a valiant person, and can draw into the field a great army of horse and foot: his country has wherewithal, for he is rich in gold, silver, and jewels. He can draw forth two thousand elephants, caparisoned: they have daggers on their tusks, and they carry as many men as those of Narsingue. They use hand-guns, muskets, swords, pikes, javelins, and halberds. The king has many tributaries, as the king of Apura, who pays him fifty elephants yearly, and twelve pearls for the ransoms of six towns, which the king of Bengal had taken from him. The king of Dimali is also tributary for having assisted the king of Apura†, and pays fifty horses and fifty thousand crowns annually. The king of Orixa ‡, and many more, pay him tribute too; though he himself, in some manner, acknowledges the Mogul §. His

* In Chap. VIII. of this work, the reader will meet with several instances of the warlike character of the Indian ladies.

† There can be little doubt but that this means Tipera, which was not subjected by the Moguls till the eighteenth century. Hamilton's Gazetteer.

‡ Orissa, or Orixa, was formerly independent of Great Bengal. Ayeen Akbery, Vol. II. p. 11. It was conquered by the Moguls in 1592. Hamilton's Gazetteer, "Orissa."

§ I cannot find this city under either name in the Ayeen Akbery. But, Vol. II. p. 3, it is said "Esau Asghan carried his conquests towards the east, into a country called Bhatty, which is reckoned a part of this Subah, and caused the Kootba to be read, and the coin to be struck in the name of his present majesty. Bordering upon Bhatty is an extensive country, subject to the chief of Tiprah, whom they stile Yeyah Manick. Their military force consists of a thousand elephants, and two hundred thousand infantry." All this is reconcilable with the description of Le Blanc's Batacouta.

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army is ever ready on the instant to appear in the field. The Bengalians live much on preserves, sweetmeats, and spices. Their clothings are of cotton, silk, damask, satin, and velvet: they are the gallantest persons of the East, both men and women, and both sexes go richly appareled and perfumed. All other nations flock thither to spend their money, and chiefly to buy young eunuchs, as slaves to manage their business, and to guard their women; for which purpose, they have been instructed in all manner of virtues; they are sold for sixty to a hundred ducats *. The complexions of the Bengalians are rather fair than black. Their coats are almost of the Italian mode, especially when they visit ladies, as at Ormus. Their principal drink is milk with sugar and cinnamon.

We went from Bengala to Castigan †, where were arrived some Portuguese ships; this place belongs to the king of Bengala. We sold our opium at Castigan, a drug of much profit, and of which a great quantity is brought from Aden, and other parts of Arabia. At the island of Sondina, which is inhabited by Mahometans, we got all the victuals we wanted, almost for nothing. From all antiquity, the people of Sondina were subject to the same king as the Castiganians ‡."

Mr. Marsden, in his edition of Marco Polo, note 881, observes, that in Ramusio's text, the true reading is, that the Grand Khan did *not* conquer Bengala; and that the king of Mien and Bengala means but one person: also that the mistake obviously arises from the omission of the negative. Ramusio died in 1557, and probably had heard, by way of the *Cape of Good Hope*, that the Great Bengal (of which

* Marco Polo, page 452, asserts the same thing: "The Bangalians sell to the merchants who resort thither, eunuchs, of whom there are numbers in the country, as slaves; for all prisoners taken in war are presently emasculated."

† Doubtless, Chittagong.

‡ Vincent Le Blanc, Part I. Ch. XXII. and Purchas, Vol. I. (B) Book V.

Gour was the capital), had never been conquered by Kublai, the Grand Khan. It is highly probable (if the omission of the negative be an error of the printer) that, on this intelligence, he, as he imagined, *corrected* the early editions of Polo. Gour had been the capital, from the seventh century before Christ, till the reign of Akbar; when it was abandoned, in consequence of the unwholesome air; after which Tanda, Rajemahl, Dacca, and Moorshedabad, were successively the capitals of *Great* Bengal.

Gibbon, Chap. LXIV. says, "the kingdoms of Tonquin, Cochin China, Pegu, *Bengal*, and Thibet, were reduced to different degrees of tribute and obedience, by the effect or terror of Kublai's arms."

We find that vessels arrived at Fokein, in 1286, from the *tributary kingdom of Bengal**. We may conclude that there certainly were two Bengals, and that, as this was not generally known, these mistakes have arisen.

Mien is laid down in the map of the East Indies by Joseph Enouy, published by Bowles and Carver, in 1799, as a province two or three degrees east-north-east of Umarapora, or Ava. More, on the conquest of the regions between the Burrampooter and China, may be seen in Marco Polo, Ch. XXXVII. to Ch. XLIX. Concerning Mien, see the same book, note 864; where it appears that Ava is meant.

OF BURMAH AND PEGU IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The king of Pegu subjugated the kingdom of Verma, or Burmah; two years after, he conquered Siam. He, by his lieutenant, subdued many other countries.

* Modern Universal History, Vol. II. p. 387.

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The king's palace stands at the farthest end of new Pegu. He has a walled park, where he keeps all sorts of beasts, never regarding the price; as appears by the long war with the king of Siam for the white elephant, to dignify his calachar, or park. It was the Pegu king Aleager, who began this cruel war, with a million of martial men, two hundred thousand horse, five thousand elephants, and three thousand camels. He sacked and ruined Siam, or Lagi, which was reputed twice as big as Paris. The siege lasted twenty-two months. He took the king's treasure, wife, and children; and brought them and the white elephant to Pegu, sixty-five days' journey, by camels. The king of Siam cast himself, in despair, from a turret of his own palace. Some of his daughters made away with themselves. One lady was saved, who was affianced to the Grand Mogul's son, who, following the army to recover her, was taken prisoner. By frequent prayers he obtained leave to visit her and his future mother in law. They were now married, and conducted to the confines with great honour and magnificence; whence grew the greatness of the Mogul, tributary to the king of Pegu, but who hath since broken his faith.

This fatal white elephant hath cost five kings their lives and estates. The last king of Pegu had it taken from him by the king of Aracan, through the treachery of the king of Tangut, his brother-in-law. The coach of the king of Pegu was drawn by four white elephants. I believe that in all the East there were not more to be found.

At every corner of the king's palace, stands a giant of polished marble; who, Atlas like, upholds this goodly fabric; and they are represented with such tortions of face, you would think that they complain of their load. You enter over a draw-bridge, through a gate of excessive height and strength; where are the figures of a giant and his wife, of variegated marble.

One palace is allotted to the queen and her court, (not unlike the Escurial), which joins a park, stored with musk animals, giraffes; and stags, called Arsuiga, which are like those in Sweden, and are used as horses; birds of paradise, and ostriches of prodigious bigness. There is an unicorn called Drougala, and the head of another with the horn in the middle of the upper part of the forehead, firmly fixed upon the side of a fountain. There is a park for lions, tigers, and other fierce beasts, called Siparo; and 'tis a sad and daily sight to see criminals devoured by them.

In 1572, there was a church founded in memory of a miracle. A poor Christian pilgrim from France, who had curiosity to see the court of that great monarch, so famous throughout the Indies, having no money, swam across the river, and was detected, taken, and condemned. He was exposed to the lions, next to the elephants, and thirdly to the tigers, but none of the beasts would touch him: he was then presented to the king; who inquired who he was, and gave him a pension for life.

The king is called Quiber Sencal Jasel, that is, grand monarch of elephants. He delights to see them monthly exercised in battalions, marching ten abreast; the riders in cloth of gold upon a green ground, with a lance and a lion's skin. With the captain march twelve negro women, with drums; their faces painted red and violet, clothed in figured gowns; dancing, and making ridiculous gesticulations before the elephants.

When they go to war, the elephants have bars of steel over their trunks. A squadron of a thousand elephants follows the captain; next comes the king's throne, with his children, high and exalted like a canopy, drawn by those famous white ones; followed by many nobles, mounted on others, with silken bridles; all accompanied with trumpets, flutes, and other instruments: at which sounds the elephants

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leap and dance, and shew great content; between times, they march with a gravity becoming a rational creature.

Of the kingdom of Bremah, or Burmah, the city royal is Pegu, in which place began the greatness of the late kings; these Burmans inhabited near the lake Chiamay; among whom the king of Pegu had his viceroys; one whereof, the deputy of Tangut, about seventy years since, rebelled against him, and surprised the kingdoms of Prom, Meliatay, Calam, Baccam, Mirandu, and Ava; all peopled with Burmans, extending northwards a hundred and fifty leagues.

He after attempted Siam, with an army of three hundred thousand men; and spent three months in making way through the huge woods and inaccessible places; but achieved not his purpose.

After his return, he assailed Pegu, and conquered it; and then returned the second time, in 1567. He subjected to his seigniory, twelve kingdoms; which Fernandes thus rehearseth: the kingdom of Cauclan, where are the best rubies and sapphires. Secondly, that of Ava, the bowels whereof are filled with mines of copper, lead, and silver. The third, Bacan, enriched with mines of gold. Tungran, the fourth, abounded with lac and lead. Such is Prom, the fifth. The sixth, is Iangoma, stored with copper, musk, pepper, silk, silver, and gold. Lauran, the seventh, had Beioim enough to lade ships. The eighth and ninth, are the kingdoms of Trucan, staples of China merchandise. The tenth and eleventh, are the Diadems of Cublan, between Ava and China, powdered with precious stones. Siam, whence we came last, is the last of the twelve; in the invasion whereof he armed a million and three score thousand men: which number is short of Frederick's reckoning, except we ascribe that surplusage to victuallers, voluntaries, servants, and attendants on the baggage; which army, saith Fernandes, he tithed out of his people.

He so abounded with wealth, that a hundred ships, freighted with

rice, seemed to diminish nothing of the plenty. The fields are said to yield three harvests in the year; and of gems, the store is beyond estimation, and also maketh them, there, short of the estimation of gems. But this wealth, then wanting no store, had, when Fernandes wrote this, in 1598, a contrary vicissitude—of no store; but want even of those things which nature exacteth as necessary props of life. Scarcely, of so many, were left seven thousand persons, men, women, and children, to participate the king's imprisonment or siege in his tower; and those feeding on man's flesh: the parents requiring of the children that life, which before they had given, to sustain their own; and now laid them, not in their bosoms, but in their bowels.—The children became living sepulchres of their scarce dead parents. The strongest preyed upon the weaker; and, if their flesh was consumed before by their own hunger, leaving nothing but skin and bones to the hungry assault of these raveners, they ripped the belly and devoured their inward parts; and, breaking the skull, sucked out the brains raw. Yea, the weaker sex was, by the strength of famine, armed with no less butcherly despight against whomsoever they could meet in the streets of the city, with their knives, which they carried about them as harbingers to their teeth, in those inhospitable inhuman human banquets.

Thus did the besieged suffer; while the king endured in his tower no small part of like misery, besides the indignity so to be, by his own vassals, straitened and afterwards slaughtered. But such is the just hand of the King of kings, who regardeth not persons; but, as he sheweth mercy to the merciful, so doth he reserve vengeance for cruelty and tyranny. Pardon me, reader, if in this spectacle I cause thee, with myself, to stay awhile and wonder. The Sun, in his daily journey round about this vast globe, saw few equal (that I say no more) to this Peguan greatness; and yet, in a small space, He that

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is higher than the highest, hath abated and abased this magnificence lower than the lowest of his princes *.

After the death of the Burman conqueror, his son, finding the king of Ava, his tributary and uncle, was plotting a conspiracy, seized forty Avan noblemen; had them conducted into a wood, which was set fire to; and those who escaped the flames were killed by the sword. The two kings agreed to try their fate by single combat upon elephants; and the king of Pegu obtained the conquest.

Andreas Boues, March 28, 1600, relates, that the king of Pegu was besieged by the kings of Aracan and Tangut; that he surrendered himself, his queen, and prince, to the latter; who, treacherously beheading them, hastened to the tower of Pegu, where he found as much gold and jewels as laded six hundred elephants and as many horses, besides silver. The king of Aracan, incensed at this conduct, with the assistance of the Portuguese, among whom this jesuit was one, invaded Pegu, seized three millions of silver, and all the artillery; and remained lord of Pegu. The king hath four white elephants; and if any other hath any, he will seek them by favor or force. They are fed in vessels of silver gilt. One of them, when he goes to the river, passes under a canopy of cloth of gold, or silk, carried by six or eight men; as many going before, playing on drums or other instruments. On his coming out of the river a gentleman washes his feet in a silver bason. There were black elephants nine cubits high. The king is said to have about five thousand elephants of war. When Mr. Fitch was at Pegu, the king had one wife, three hundred concubines: and he was said to have ninety children. The king sat in judgment almost every day †.

* This punning but interesting narrative is from Purchas, rector of St. Martin's Ludgate, chaplain to Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and contemporary with Shakespear and Milton, who were both punsters.

† Purchas, Vol. I. p. 458 to 468, and Vincent Le Blanc, Ch. XXVI. and XXVII.

The town of Pegu is square and very large, having five gates at each side of the square; and a deep trench in which there are many crocodiles. The walls are of wood: the watch towers are richly gilt. When in the heart of the town, you discover all the streets; which is a gallant curiosity. The king's guard consists of thirty thousand horse, Turks, Persians, or Arabians; for there is a law, that he who brings twenty horses for sale, shall pay no duty on his other merchandize; they are therefore brought in abundance.

The soldiers exercise much at a mark, and are very expert. The king has about five thousand elephants. Merchants follow the armies upon oxen. The country is rich in gold, silver, rubies, sapphires, garnets, &c. and his magazine may pass for the treasury of the East. There is a statue of a tall man of beaten gold, wearing a golden crown, enriched with rubies of inestimable value; and round it, four statues of youths, all of gold. In one part they make coaches, litters, saddles; and harness for elephants, covered with gold and silver. I saw a rich saddle and furniture for an elephant, bought for the king. They use arquebusses and other guns, which are far better than ours; better iron, better tempered, and better wrought. The king had three thousand pieces of ordnance; one thousand of them were of brass*.

* * * *

When the king of Siam goes to court, he has a train of two hundred elephants, among which one is white. If any favorite elephant falls sick and dies, he is, with funeral pomp, burned to ashes with reeds, and the weight of his body of sweet wood; but, if he be an offender, he is not burnt but buried. The monarch stiles himself King of Heaven and Earth†.

* Vincent Le Blanc, P. I. Ch. XXVI. † Tavernier, P. II. B. III. Ch. XVIII.

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The town of Siam stands upon the large river Mecan, which springs from the famous lake Chiamay; Siam has a stately wall, and contains thirty thousand houses, with a castle strongly fortified, built upon the water, like Penivitan and Venice. The country breeds elephants, rhinoceroses, giraffes, tigers, lions, leopards; the fairest ermines, camels, dromedaries, and some say unicorns; which, being very timorous beasts, seldom appear in sight*.

SUMATRA.

"Our English first had trade at Sumatra in the last years of queen Elizabeth, whose name was then famous, for her exploits against the Spaniards. The queen's letter directed to the king, Sultan Aladin, was received with great state. First, he entertained the messenger with a banquet; gave him a robe and a piece of calico wrought with gold; and offered pledges for the general's safety, for whom he sent six elephants, with drums, trumpets, streamers, and many people. The greatest elephant, being thirteen or fourteen feet high, had a small castle like a coach, covered with velvet, on his back; in which was placed a great golden bason, with a rich covering of silk, wherein the letter was laid. The general was mounted on another elephant; but staid at the court gate, till the king's pleasure and licence was again sent.

The king gave him a feast; the dishes were of gold or tambaycke, which is gold and brass mixed. Their wine is of rice, as strong as aqua vitæ: the king drank to the general out of his gallery, a fathom

* Vide Le Blanc, p. 105. We are always tantalized with the hope of finding one of these animals. An Unicorn is reported to have been seen by a British officer, in the thick woods near Aracan, in July, 1825.

higher than where they sat. After the feast, there were music and dancing by the king's damsels; which was a great favor, as they are not commonly seen.

The chief prelate was appointed one of the commissioners for articles of league, which were concluded.

They took a prize of nine hundred tons, and were like to be taken themselves by a strange water spout, which fell not far from them, as in one whole drop, enough to have sunk any ship.

The king sent a letter and presents to the queen: and, at their departure, asked if they had the psalms of David, and caused them to sing one; which he and his nobles seconded with a psalm (as he said) for their prosperity.

The court hath three guards, between each of which there is a great green. The walls of the house are hung sometimes with cloth of gold, velvet, or damask. The king sits cross-legged, with four crisses, two before, and two behind, very rich. Forty women attend him with fans, clothes, singing, and other offices. He eateth and drinketh all day; or is chewing betel and areca, talking of venery and cock-fighting.

This king had a hundred gallies, of which some will carry four hundred men; they are without decks; their oars are like shovels, four feet long, and are managed with one hand.

A woman was admiral, he not daring, through self-guiltiness, to trust men. They have a tradition that Acheen is Ophir*." "The king of Acheen places his strength in nine hundred elephants. I have seen three hundred at a time in the court of the palace†."

* Sir James Lancaster. Purchas, Vol. I. 548.
† Commodore Beaulieu. Harris's Voy. Vol. I. 745.

CHAPTER VIII.

Hindostan.——Heroism of the Indian Ladies.——Court Parades of the Emperors Akbar, Jehanghir, and Aurungzeb.——Combats of Elephants with Horses; of English Mastiffs with Elephants; of Crocodiles with Horses.

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HINDOSTAN being the country which has furnished the Greeks, Romans, and Persians, with elephants, from the earliest times, a few interesting extracts have been selected, to shew the numbers of those animals with which that country abounds; and also for the purpose, in later times, of exhibiting the customs of the Moguls, who are descendants of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane.

In the ninth century of the Christian era, two Arabians visited India. "The king of Tafek," say they, "has the finest white women in all India. He is awed by the kings about him, his army being small, and bordering on the lands of a king called Rami, who is at war with the king of Haraz, and with the Balhara also. They say, that Rami's forces are very numerous; and that he takes the field with ten or fifteen thousand tents, and appears at the head of fifty thousand elephants*.

* The Balhara reigned at Kanoge, the capital of Porus: and which, in the sixth century, contained thirty thousand shops for the sale of Betel-nut. See Rennel's Memoir, p. 54. Abul Ghazi, Vol. II. p. 754; and Harris's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 525.

* * * *

Mamood, Emperor of Ghizni, in his eleventh expedition, marched again by the way of Lahore, in the year 1023, against Nunda, the prince of Callinger, with a great army. Passing by the fort of Gualior, he ordered it to be besieged; but the prince of the province prevailed on him to remove from before that place, in a few days, by means of rich presents and thirty-five elephants. Mamood, immediately directed his march to Callinger, invested that city, and Nunda offered him three hundred elephants and other presents for peace; which terms were agreed to. The Raja, to try the bravery of the sultan's troops, intoxicated the elephants with certain drugs, and let them loose without riders into the camp. Mamood, seing the animals advancing, perceived the trick by the wildness of their motions, and immediately ordered a party of his best horse, to seize, kill, and drive them from the camp. Some of the Turks, emulous to display their bravery in the presence of their king, and of both armies, mounted the greatest part of the elephants, and drove the rest into an adjacent wood, where they were soon reduced to obedience†.

* * * *

English travellers mention immense numbers. Wm. Clarke, who served the Mogul many years, saith, that he hath seen in one army twenty thousand elephants, whereof four thousand were for war, the rest females for burthen, young, &c. (Purchas, (B) Vol. I. p. 640.)

" The king keepeth thirty thousand elephants in his whole kingdom;

† Dow's Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 64.

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some thirteen feet and a half high." (T. Coryate from Asmeer, Purchas, II. 592.)

Jehanghir hath twenty thousand camels, four thousand ounces for game, one hundred tame lions, four thousand hawks, twelve thousand elephants, five thousand of which with teeth. Of his and his nobles, there are thought to be forty thousand elephants in his empire." (Captain Hawkins. Purchas, I. 545. (B) Vol. I. p. 594.)

* * * *

Cuttub presented the king with above three hundred elephants, taken from the Raja of Benares; the riders had a signal given to them to make all the elephants at once fall upon their knees to the king; which they did, except a favorite white one. This animal was considered inestimable; and, though extremely tractable, he, on this occasion, had nearly killed his rider, when he endeavoured to force him to pay his obedience. The king, on setting out for Ghizni, sent the white elephant in a present to Cuttub, who rode it ever after, till his death; when the affectionate animal, with visible sorrow, pined and expired the third day after †.

* * * *

Sultan Baber took the route of Lahore, and, on the way, hunted rhinoceroses, with which that country abounded; many were killed, and some taken in toils. This gave him an opportunity to put the personal bravery of the chiefs to trial ‡.

* * * *

† Dow's Hindostan, A. D. 1205. ‡ Dow, A. D. 1525.

Asaph, having heard of the riches of the kingdom of Gurrah, at that time governed by a queen named Durgetti, marched against it. The queen, with fifteen hundred elephants, &c. prepared to meet him. Like a bold heroine, she led on her troops to action, clothed in armour, with a helmet upon her head, mounted in a castle upon an elephant, a bow and quiver by her side. The brave queen received an arrow in her eye and one in her neck, which she pulled out; but, finding the enemy crowding fast around her, and her son being mortally wounded, she plunged a dagger into her bosom, and expired†.

* * * *

"There was, as is said, formerly a Moor king, who, leading a voluptuous and idle life, by his captains was dispossessed of his estate. One of these was called Idalcan, whose royal seat is Visiapore. In the year 1572, he encamped before Goa, which the Portuguese had taken from him, with an army of seventy thousand foot, thirty-five thousand horse, two thousand elephants, and two hundred and fifty pieces of artillery‡."

* * * *

In the year 1582, the Emperor Akbar led an army to Cabul, against his brother Hakim, who had rebelled; he was accompanied by a vast number of armed elephants. They wear plates of iron upon their foreheads, carry four archers, or else four gunners with great pieces. They go not in front of the army, lest, being hurt, they should disturb the ranks, and therefore are set in the rear: a sword is bound to their trunk, and daggers are fastened to their tusks. One of the guns, in the first advance, by accident, killed three of the chiefs who stood by Ha-

† Dow, A. D. 1564. ‡ Purchas, Vol. I, p. 485.

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kim, who immediately left the field, and was pursued with great slaughter. The Emperor entered Cabul, and Hakim fled to Ghorebund: he from thence sent an embassy to the Emperor, begging forgiveness, which was granted him †.

* * * *

"The town of Bisnegur, or Chandegy, is eight leagues in circuit, and so powerful, that it supplies the prince with a hundred thousand horse. Narsingue, the capital of the country, is built in a stately stile, and is about the compass of Florence. The laws are so well observed, that none breaks them, for fear of punishment. The citizens are obliged to serve their king on pain of death, or amputation of hands and feet.

To keep his army more full, he entertains the finest women in the world, most gallantly dressed. Many lords and princes, from other parts, flock hither to fight under Mars and Venus: but are not admitted to the ladies till they have shewn some trophy of their valour.

They load their elephants and horses with iron and steel hoops, three fingers broad, keen as razors, and dart them dexterously, and swift a arrows: they poison them; and the large wounds they make are mortal. They have swords, bucklers, javelins, bows, cross-bows, and some fire-pikes. The king of Ternassery ‡ is continually at war with the king of Narsingue: he is a gentile, and hath above a thousand elephants trained to war, and of the largest size of the East, covered to the ground with beeves' hides; and, over them, with divers trappings. Those hides are fastened underneath the belly with iron chains, and are difficult to be got off. Four men may easily fight upon each elephant, with broad bucklers made of tortoise-shell. He who guides

† Dow, Vol. II. p. 278. Purchas, Vol. I. (B) p. 584. ‡ See Le Blanc, p. 80.

the beast is the best armed of the five, being most exposed to the enemy. Their darts have three sharp points or heads, with a ball of iron in the middle, which serves for counterpoise. They are a warlike, courteous, voluptuous nation, and have fair women, whom they treat in gardens full of rare fruits. They delight in perfumes, chiefly musk; I quartered at a Jew's, who had a great quantity†.

* * * *

" The muster of elephants precedes all others. Every day a khaseh elephant, with his housings and trappings, is brought to the front of the palace: and on the first day of every Persian month, ten elephants are brought; and on every succeeding day, ten hulkahs of ten each. On Mondays, ten hulkahs of twenty each, are brought to be mustered‡.

There are always set apart for his Majesty's (Akbar) riding, one hundred and one elephants. The daily allowance of food is in weight two hundred pounds, the same as for the others, but differs in quality. Most of these have, moreover, five seers (ten pounds) of sugar, four seers of ghee, and half a maund (about forty pounds) of rice, with round and long pepper, &c. and some have a maund and half of milk mixed up with their rice. In the sugar-cane season, each elephant has daily three hundred canes, more or less, for the space of two months. His Majesty rides every kind of khaseh elephant, making them obedient to his command; and frequently in the rutting season he puts his feet upon the tusks of the elephant and mounts him; to the astonishment of those who are used to these animals. Magnifi-

† Travels of Vincent Le Blanc, p. 81. The Visiapore ladies were celebrated for their extraordinary beauty. See Montesquieu, Persian Letter, XCVI.

‡ Ayeen Akbery, Vol. I. p. 167.

cent amarees are put upon the backs of swift paced elephants, and which serve for places of repose on journies. An elephant so caparisoned is always ready at the palace *.

When his Majesty goes on a journey, he takes with him a carriage of his own contrivance, of such a magnitude as to contain several apartments, with a hot bath: and it is drawn by a single elephant. This moveable bath is extremely useful, and very refreshing on a journey. Other carriages are drawn by camels, horses and oxen †.

The Emperor Akbar built an amphitheatre at Agra, for elephant fights ‡.

On the return from Cashmere, in 1597, many elephants died of fatigue and famine; they sometimes leaned on their trunk as a staff to enable them to support their loads. The prince was assaulted by a lioness, which he wounded with a dart, then with a shot; a soldier came on and slew her, but with the loss of his own life. The prince was upon a female elephant.

The next year Akbar went to Agra; he had eight hundred elephants, and seven thousand camels, to carry his tents and provisions; yea, his secretary was at the same time provided with seven hundred camels, and seventy elephants, for his own use. The king conducted in this expedition above one thousand elephants instructed for fighting. Brampore fell into his hands. Miram, the king, had fled to Syra, where he had three thousand pieces of ordnance; the governor, and seven other commanders, were all renegado Mahomedans. Akbar had two hundred thousand men, but prevailed more with bribes; and Syra fell §.

On Tuesday, the Emperor sits in judgment, and hears both parties with patience. He sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, the executions done by his elephants.

* Ayeen Akbery, Vol. I. pp. 127, 128. † Ibid. p. 225. ‡ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 37.
§ Purchas, (B) Vol. I. p. 588.

"The Emperor Jehanghir was so rich in jewels, that I never saw such inestimable wealth. His greatest elephants were brought before him, some of which being lord elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and silver, attended with gilt banners and flags; and eight or ten elephants waiting on him, clothed in gold, silk, and silver. Thus passed about twelve companies, most richly furnished; the first having all the plates on his head and breast set with rubies and emeralds, being a beast of a wonderful stature and beauty. They all bowed down before the king; who, with some gracious compliment to me, rose and went in." * * *

The king at noon sat out at the Durbar, where the prince brought his elephants, about six hundred, rich in trappings and furniture; and likewise ten thousand horse, with heron top feathers in their turbans, all in gallantry; himself in cloth of silver embroidered with great pearls, and shining with diamonds like a firmament. The king embraced him with much affection, and gave him a sword and dagger of gold set with precious stones, valued at one hundred and forty thousand rupias; an elephant and two horses, with all the furniture of gold and precious stones; and one of the new coaches made in imitation of that sent by my master. He commanded the English coachman to drive him to his tents; he sat in the middle, the sides open; his chiefest nobles on foot walking by him, about four miles. All the way he threw quarter rupias, being followed by a multitude; and, reaching his hand to the coachman, he put into his hat a number of rupias †.

* * * *

"Next followed the English coach, now covered and richly trimmed; which the Emperor had given to the queen Normahall, who

† Sir Thomas Rowe. Purchas, Vol. II. pp. 542, 550, 558.

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rode in it. After, followed twenty royal elephants for his own ascending, so rich, that, in precious stones and furniture, they braved the Sun. His wives, on their elephants, were carried like parakitoes, half a mile behind him. When the king came to the door where his eldest son was a prisoner, he called for him; he came and made reverence; his sword and buckler in his hand, and his beard grown to his middle; a sign of disfavor. The king commanded him to ascend one of the spare elephants, and so rode next him, to the extreme applause and joy of all men. The king gave him a thousand rupias to cast to the people†.

The great general Khan Cannawe liveth at Brampore. On the 12th October, 1609, he returned from the wars, with one thousand five hundred elephants, ten thousand camels, three thousand dromedaries, &c. This city is far bigger than London. Hence we travelled towards Agra, and met with store of wild elephants, lions, and tigers. * * * The elephants that fight before the Mogul, are parted with rockets of wild-fire, made round like hoops, which are pushed in their faces. Some fight with wild horses, six horses to an elephant; which he kills by clasping his trunk about their necks; and, pulling them to him, breaks their necks with his tusks. Condemned persons may crave the combat with the lion. One was seen, who at the first encounter felled the lion with his fist; but was soon torn in pieces before the king. Master Fitch and Captain Hawkins saw also crocodiles kept in ponds for like purpose, one of which killed two horses at a time ‡.

* * * *

An English mastiff § seized an elephant by the trunk, and kept his

† Sir T. Rowe, A. D. 1615. Purchas, Vol. II. 559.

‡ Purchas, (B) Vol. I. p. 601. § These were probably bull-dogs.

hold so fast, that the elephant, having tossed him in the air for some time, at last swung him off; but did not care to come near him a second time. This being told to the Mogul, enhanced the reputation of the English dogs: they were carried about in palankines along with his Majesty, and he fed them himself with a pair of silver tongs made for that purpose†.

* * * *

The daily diversions of the Mogul, except on Fridays, were, to see the lions, leopards, tigers, and elephants fight with one another. * * *

The city of Amedabat is obliged to maintain fifty elephants. The governor's daughter was married to the Mogul's second son. Her father sent her, with an equipage of twenty elephants, and six thousand waggons laden with riches. The governor kept fifty elephants for his own use. The Mogul never stirs abroad without a guard of one hundred thousand men; at the head of which march one hundred elephants, covered with scarlet velvet and brocades. I arrived in England in 1639. Lord Strafford did me the honor to introduce me to his Majesty to kiss his hand, and afterwards to the Queen; both their Majesties being pleased to bestow some time to hear the relation of my travels, especially in Muscovy and Persia‡.

* * * *

Aurungzeb was twenty days before Daman, and resolved on storming it on a Sunday, believing that Christians would not defend it on that day. The place was commanded by an old soldier, who had

† Barclay, Universal Traveller, p. 498. ‡ Albert de Mandelsloe's Travels.

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served in France, and had three sons with him; and there were eight hundred gentlemen, and other stout soldiers.

Aurungzeb had forty thousand men. The governor made a sally after midnight with all his cavalry, and part of his infantry. He attacked the quarter that was guarded by two hundred elephants, among which, in the dark, they flung a great number of fire-works, which so affrighted them, that they turned upon the besiegers with such fury, that, in two or three hours, half of Aurungzeb's army was cut in pieces; on which he raised the siege; nor would he after that have any thing more to do with the Christians†.

* * * *

After the court elephants were paraded, combats were given of rhinoceroses, buffaloes, lions, tigers, nilgaus, gazelles, leopards to hunt the gazelles, &c.

* * * *

Four hundred camels and one hundred and twenty elephants carry the tents; there are also tents for the best elephants, and other animals that *are always carried for sports and magnificence, and also for lions, rhinoceroses, and other animals, led for parade.* We had above one hundred and fifty thousand animals, horses, camels, and elephants, on this expedition to Cashmere.

Roshinara Begum was mounted on a lusty Pegu elephant, in a mikdember, all shining with gold and azure, attended by five others equally splendid, with the ladies of her household. A long file of sixty or more elephants, thus marching gravely, had a grand and royal appearance ‡.

† Tavernier, P. II. B. I. Ch. XII. ‡ Bernier's Journey to Cashmere.

* * * *

The Nabob of Oude, in 1794, went on a hunting expedition towards the mountains which separate India from Thibet. He keeps a great number of elephants for his pleasure, and had with him of *his own* on this occasion, above a thousand. A troop of one hundred and seventy wild ones was met with, and, being surrounded, the tumult, noise, and confusion, where fourteen hundred elephants were engaged, it is not possible to describe. Five wild ones were killed, and twenty-one were captured †.

* * * *

RUSSIA.

"After this, the Emperor Pheodor Ivanovich was taken out of his chair of majesty, having upon him a robe, adorned with precious stones and orient pearls in great quantity, in weight two hundred pounds; the train borne up by six dukes, his chief imperial crown upon his head, and his staff imperial in his right hand, of an *unicorn's horn*, three feet and a half in length, and beset with rich stones; it was bought at Augsburg for seven thousand marks sterling." Seen by Jerom Horsley, Gent. servant to her Majestie, A. D. 1584. Purchas, III. 743.—The staff was, it is to be presumed, the horn of a rhinoceros, of extraordinary length, (it is *possible* that it was that of a narwal), and valued, from the property it is supposed to possess, of being a charm and an antidote against poisons. This notion is univer-

† Note in Sonini's Buffon, Vol. XXVIII. A full description appeared, soon after the hunting took place, in an English Magazine.

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sal, and rhinoceroses have been esteemed as highly valuable in all countries.

The writer was going in his budgerow through the Sunderbunds, an extensive uninhabited district of Bengal, full of rivers, and near the sea, when he came to an open place, where a Portuguese and his family resided: his pursuit was that of a lime burner; he employed some Indians to pick up shells, a species of the *Buccinum*, which were in plenty, scattered in the swamps and woods. The lime made from the shells, was for chewing, when properly prepared, with the betel leaf and areca nut. In this dangerous pursuit, he had lost many men by the tigers; but still he found successors. This man possessed a small horn of a rhinoceros that had been killed in the woods; and had the same universal opinion of its virtues. On being asked how it ought to be used, he said, that he put a small quantity of water in the concave part of the root, when held with the point downwards; and stirred the water with the point of an iron nail, till it was discoloured, when the patient was to drink it: that it had a pungent taste, and that he had given it with success to a person who had been bitten by a dog, supposed to be mad.

The reputation of the horn, in this and other instances, is probably derived from the patients not having been poisoned, and the dogs not mad.

* * * *

The Czar, Ivan Vassilivitch takes great pleasure in hunting fallow-deer: he also loves fowling, he has three hundred falconers, and the best ger-falcons in the world, which are brought from Siberia. Harris's Voyages, Vol. II. 477.

* * * *

The king of Persia sent the Czar an elephant, but it died, on its way to Moscow, at Zaritza.—Le Bruyn, Vol. I. p. 95.

* * * *

The ambassadors and some of their friends took a walk, about a league from Astracan, to see the habitations of the Tartars. Every hut had its hawk or falcon. We met one of their princes returning from his sport with his hawk on his fist.—Olearius, p. 132.

GRAND SEIGNIOR.

Once every year the Grand Seignior recreates himself with hawking, and also appoints a general hunting match. A space of ground is enclosed, of five or six days' riding. All the neighbouring inhabitants are ordered to appear. When the game is driven into a narrow compass, the sultan, from an eminence, has the pleasure of seeing the wild boars, wolves, foxes, and hares, killed with clubs; and the pheasants and partridges by his falcons*.

POLAND.

The woods in Poland are well stored with deer, bears, wolves, boars, &c. The Masovian forests have plenty of elks as large as horses, with bodies like the stag; wild asses; buffaloes; bisonets, in shape and horns like an ox, with manes like horses', beards on their lower jaws,

* Cornelius Le Bruyn, 105.

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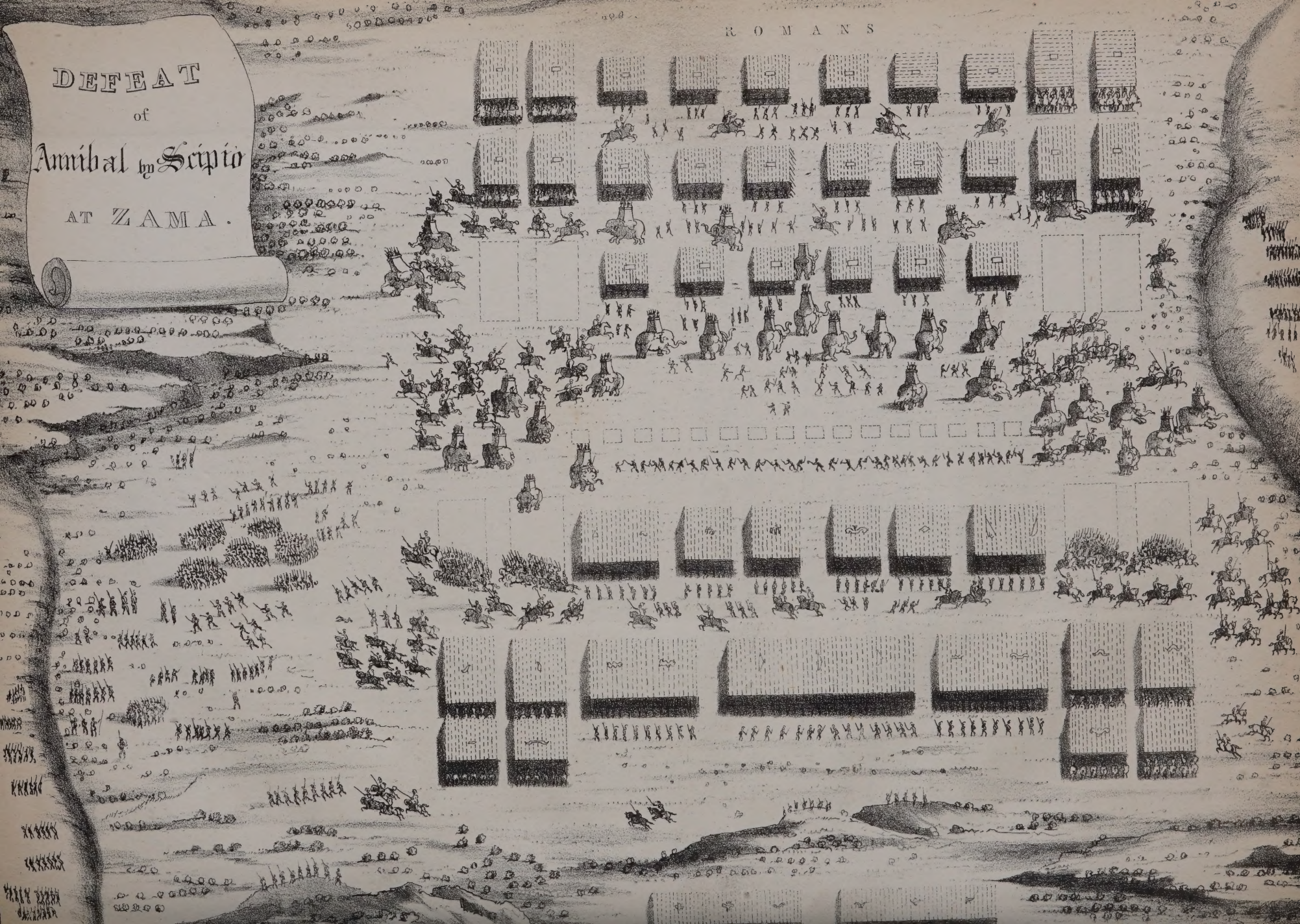
hard rough tongues, a bunch on their backs, and a smell of musk: they are incredibly strong. The Polish nobility hunt them, and esteem their flesh, when powdered, a great dainty. The urus, called by the Polanders Thur, is a kind of wild ox, bigger, stronger, and swifter than the tame: he has a short black beard, a bush of hair upon his forehead, and horns very wide and large: Pliny says the Romans made lanterns of them. In the deserts near the Dnieper, they have a sheep like a goat, with short legs, and horns straight up. There are wild horses in the Ukraine, excellent as food: and in Lithuania and Muscovy, a beast called Rossomoko, with the body and tail of a wolf, and the face of a cat, which feeds on dead carcasses *.

* Doctor Bernard Conner, Physician to John Sobieski. Harris's Voy. II. 508. As the Mongols were in Poland, that country may have furnished them with some of the animals, of which bones have been found.

DEFEAT of Annibal by Scipio AT ZAMA.



CHAPTER IX.

Of Roman and Greek Wars in which Elephants were employed.—— Marches of Hannibal and Asdrubal over the Alps, with a great number of Elephants.——Arduous march of the Consul Marcius, with Elephants, over the Olympic chain of Mountains in Greece.——Of Acilius, with Elephants, over mount Corax.—— Elephants killed, and some captured by Cato, in the defile of Thermopylæ.

ALEXANDER the Great, in the battle with Porus, captured all the elephants that were not slain; besides which Bargantes and Omphis presented him with one hundred and twenty.—Q. Curtius. Arrian. CHAP. IX. B.C. 321.

The kings, on the opposite shore of the Ganges, were waiting with an immense army, chariots of war, and several thousands of elephants, trained for war. Androcottus, who reigned not long after, made Seleucus a present of five hundred at one time.—Plutarch, "Alexander."

All the other kings having united their forces against Antigonus, Demetrius left Greece in order to join him. Had Antigonus (supposed to be the illegitimate brother of Alexander the Great) restrained his ambition to govern the world, he might have kept the preeminence among the successors of Alexander: but, by his arrogance, he exasperated many young and powerful princes. He met the enemy at Ipsus B.C. 300.

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in Phrygia. He had seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The confederate forces were sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred cavalry, one hundred and twenty armed chariots, and four hundred elephants. Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, Antigonus, and Demetrius, were all present. Pyrrhus accompanied Demetrius, and, though but young, bore down all before him. Demetrius, pursuing the enemy imprudently, was intercepted by their numerous elephants. His father, Antigonus, was killed; and Demetrius fled to Ephesus with only five thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The kings dismembered the conquered dominions; and each took a limb.—Plutarch, Dem. and Pyrrhus.

B.C. 280. Pyrrhus was the first who brought elephants into Italy. They were a part of those brought by the Greeks from India. He had twenty in the battle of Heraclea, in Lucania: they had towers upon their backs, full of bow-men; and the sight was truly terrifying*. A Roman soldier cut off the trunk of one of the elephants with his sword. Pyrrhus owed the victory to his elephants.—Catrou and Rouillé, Vol. II. p. 444.

B.C. 276. Curius Dentatus was near Beneventum. Pyrrhus attacked him in the Taurasian fields. On the first onset, a great number of the Epi-

* When Fabricius went to Epirus to treat about the ransom and exchange of prisoners, Pyrrhus received him with particular distinction, having been informed that he was highly valued by the Romans for his probity and martial abilities, but that he was extremely poor. Pyrrhus privately offered him gold as a pledge of his friendship, which Fabricius refused. The next day the king, knowing that he had never seen an elephant, ordered the largest he had to be armed and concealed behind a curtain in the room where they were to be in conference. On a sign being given, the curtain was drawn, and the elephant, raising his trunk over the head of Fabricius, made a horrid and terrifying roar. The Roman turned about without being in the least discomposed, and said to Pyrrhus, smiling, "Neither your gold yesterday, nor your beast to-day, has made any impression upon me."—Plutarch, "Pyrrhus."

rots were killed, and some of their elephants taken. Curius now, with new ardour, drew up in a plain. The king, assisted by his elephants, repulsed the Romans. A corps de reserve now attacked the elephants, with burning torches in one hand, and their swords in the other. The fire, pushed against these huge and furious animals, put them to flight, and created confusion. CHAP. IX.

A young elephant, which had been wounded in the battle, made a terrible roaring. The mother immediately ran to her young one, which drew after her all the other elephants, and caused such disorder, that the Romans gained a complete victory. The consul, it is said, had but twenty thousand troops in all. Pyrrhus had eighty thousand foot, and six thousand horse; of which thirty-three thousand (some say only twenty thousand) were slain: eight elephants were captured, four died of their wounds, and four were led in triumph at Rome.—Catrou, II. 483, 486. Orosius, B. IV. Ch. 2. Eutropius, B. 2.

Pyrrhus had many elephants at the siege of Argos. The noise made by the elephants, and the gates not proving sufficiently large to admit them through with the castles upon their backs, disconcerted all his measures, and produced terrible confusion. Pyrrhus was slightly wounded with a javelin through the breast-plate while he was fighting with the soldier; the mother of the latter, from the top of a house, beheld her son thus engaged, and threw a large tile with both hands at Pyrrhus, which struck his head. The king of Macedon fell from his horse senseless. One Zopyrus killed the king; and his head was sent to Antigonus.—Plutarch, "Life of Pyrrhus." B.C. 272.

Regulus, in the battle of Adis, not far from Carthage, captured eighteen elephants.—Catrou, II. 576. B.C. 255.

At Panormus (Palermo) the Carthaginian officer, named Asdrubal, drew up his elephants, one hundred and forty in number, in one line. The Roman archers poured down a shower of darts upon them and B.C. 250.

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their guides, from the top of the ramparts of the city, by which these monstrous beasts were rendered furious: some threw their guides, and trod them under foot; others fell into the ditch, where they were killed; many, having no guides, rushed through the Carthaginian phalanxes, beat down the men with their trunks, and trampled upon whatever stood in their way. This was the happy minute Metellus waited for. He attacked the battalions in flank, and cut many of the troops in pieces. Some fled to the fleet which lay along the coast of Panormus, but were either killed by the elephants or drowned. Twenty-six elephants were taken or slain at the first onset: the rest were running about the plain, or wandering in the fields without their guides; but they obeyed the voices of their former masters, and were gathered together. Metellus sent one hundred and four, or more, to the coast; where he ordered a large raft to be constructed, and covered with earth; it was planked at the sides, high enough for the security of the elephants. The raft was placed upon empty barrels, and the whole number crossed the straits to Rhegium, with the utmost quietness during the passage. Livy and Seneca make the number one hundred and twenty. Dion one hundred and thirty-eight. Pliny one hundred and forty-two.—Catrou, II. p. 591.

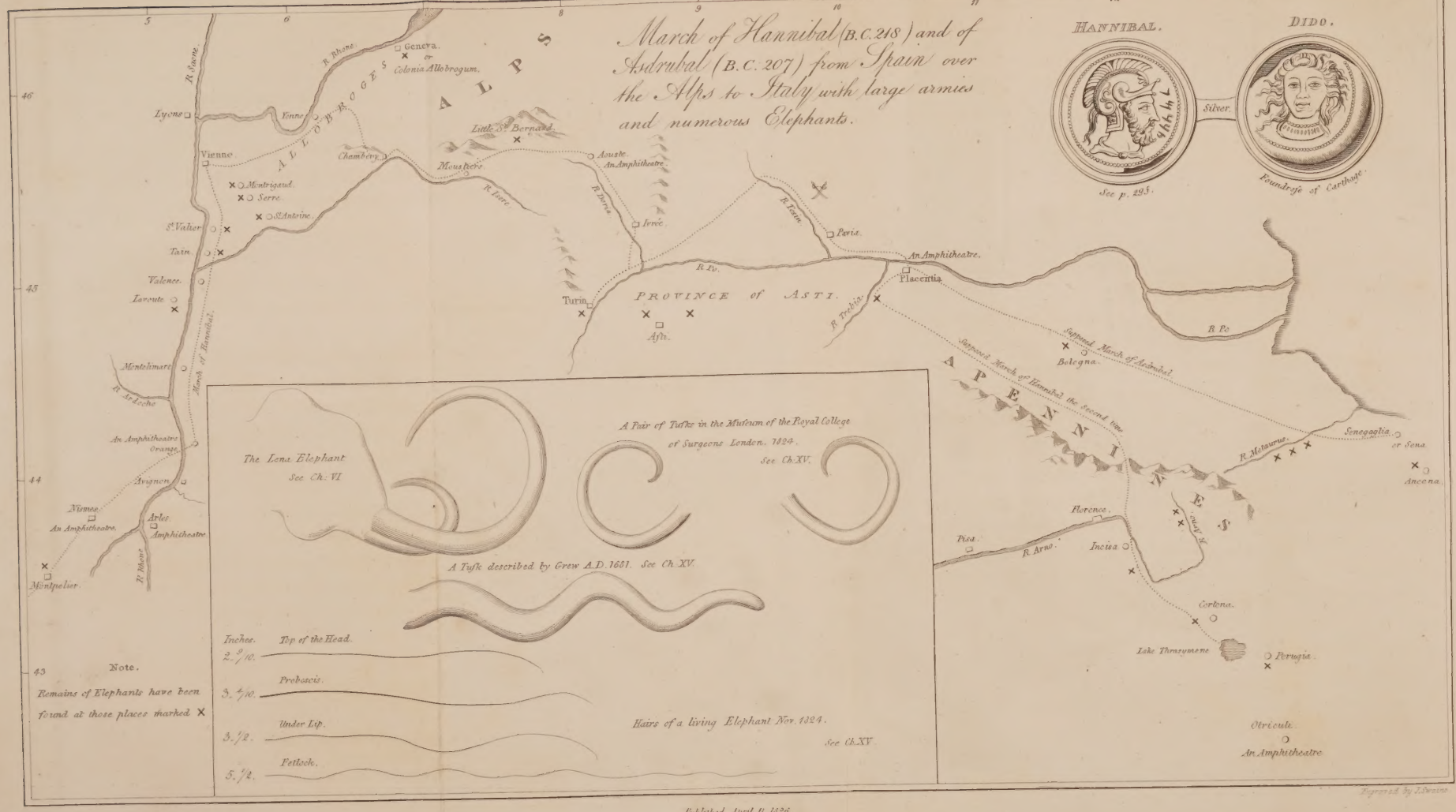
B. C. 221. Hannibal, on the deaths of his father Hamilcar and his brother-*in-law* Asdrubal, succeeded to the command of the army in Spain: he was twenty-six years of age. Althea was taken by assault (near Toledo).—Catrou, III. 40.

B.C. 219. Hannibal gained a victory on the banks of the Tagus, over the Carpetani. (Toledo was their capital, according to Pliny.) He had forty elephants in the battle, and numbers of the Spaniards were trodden to death by them.—Catrou, III. 47.

Saguntum, after a siege of six months, was taken: and Hannibal passed the winter at New Carthage. He received a reinforcement of

B.C. 218. fourteen elephants from Africa.

March of Hannibal (B.C. 218) and of Asdrubal (B.C. 207) from Spain over the Alps to Italy with large armies and numerous Elephants.



The Lena Elephant
See Ch. VI

A Pair of Tusks in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons London. 1824.
See Ch. XV.

A Tusk described by Grew A.D. 1681. See Ch. XV.

Inches.	Top of the Head.
2. 9/10.	
	Proboscis.
3. 4/10.	
	Under Lip.
3. 1/2.	
	Fetlock.
5. 1/2.	

Hairs of a living Elephant Nov. 1824.
See Ch. XV

Note.
Remains of Elephants have been found at those places marked ×

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Engraved by J. Devine

Leaving the command in Spain to his brother Asdrubal, he set out on his expedition to Italy with fifty thousand foot, nine thousand horse, and thirty-seven elephants.—Rendezvous at Illiberis (Collioure in Rousillon). The army encamped at Nismes. The Rhone was crossed at Montfaucon, nearly opposite Orange*, and the army marched upon the east bank of the Rhone through Montelimart and Valence to Vienne†: eastward to St. Genis, and north to Yenne, where the Alps commence, both upon the Rhone: from Yenne to Chambery, and thence to Montmelian, Conflans, Moustier, Aime, and Scex, all five upon the right bank of the Isere. Hannibal lost many men and cattle by the assaults of the mountaineers, who rolled down fragments of rock, and attacked his advanced guard; but the elephants stopped their fury.

The army reached the little Saint Bernard. It was now the 26th of October, and upon the summit of their passage over the mountain, there had recently been a fall of snow, under which the old snow was hard, compact and slippery. The surface being cleared, the tents were pitched, by breaking holes in the ice; and the army reposed two days.

The descent appeared more difficult and dangerous than ascending. The Numidians, by the use of fire, (some historians say, that vinegar was used on this occasion), and iron instruments, made a hollow way, so as to lessen the declivity; through which men, horses, and elephants passed with a little more ease. The army was six days in descending; making fifteen days for the whole journey over the Alps.

* See the Map. The very curious silver medal, with the head of Hannibal, and the other, supposed to be that of Dido, is from Haym. Del Tesoro Brittannico, Vol. I. p. 143. Hannibal's name is in Punic characters, (in the possession of the Earl of Pembroke).

† Brancus and his younger brother having quarrelled, appealed to Hannibal, who took part with Brancus, and left him established in the kingdom (of the Allobroges). This, and the *hostility of the Gauls*, retarded his march.

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It was now, on its arrival in Insubria, reduced to twenty thousand foot, and six thousand horse: the number of elephants lost is not mentioned. The men were so pale and ghastly, that they appeared like skeletons newly raised from the dead: or hairy savages born in a desert. The march was by St. Didier, Aoste, Bard, Ivrée, and Chivas, to Turin. (This account of the march is taken from the "*Histoire du Passage des Alpes par Annibal:*" d'après la narration de Polybe, comparée aux recherches faites sur les lieux. Par J. A. De Luc, Geneve, 1818.) See, also, Catrou, Vol. III. and Rees's Cyc. "Carthaginians."

Hannibal joined the Insubrians and took Turin. He gained a victory over Scipio on the banks of the Tessin, about five miles north of Pavia.

A large body of Gauls deserted from Scipio, and went over to Hannibal, who gained a victory over Sempronius on the banks of the Trebia; in which the elephants killed a great number of the Romans.

In crossing the Appennines, the Carthaginian army was overtaken among the rocks by a terrible tempest: many men, horses, and seven of the small number of elephants they had left, after the battle of Trebia, were starved to death*. By this distress Hannibal was driven back, and encamped about ten miles from Placentia, where he again fought a battle with Sempronius, with loss to both armies. After this the Carthaginians marched for Etruria. "The Arno was swelled to a great height, and Hannibal lost many men and beasts, *particularly of the elephants*, of which the only one remaining was that Getulian beast on which he was mounted."—Madan's Juvenal, Sat. X. note 157.

* Twelve or fifteen would be a small number out of thirty-seven; which would leave a few to lose in the Val. d'Arno afterwards. The context by no means requires that only one was left, on the retreat from the Appennines, nor is there mention of any being lost in the last battle with Sempronius.

Hannibal gained the battle of Thrasymene, and the next year the Romans were defeated by him at Cannæ. B.C. 216.

Hannibal attacked Casilinum, near Capua, but failed: a party sallied out to attack him; and was nearly cut off by his line of forty elephants, with which he had been supplied from Carthage.—Livy, B. XXIII. Ch. XVIII. Catrou, III. p. 148. Capua surrenders to Hannibal, a city with which he becomes enchanted.

Hannibal was defeated by Marcellus, at Nola; four elephants were slain and two captured.—Livy, XXIII. Ch. XLVI. B.C. 215.

Asdrubal (the bald) in a battle in Sardinia, in which he had twenty elephants, was utterly defeated, by the Prætor Manlius.—Catrou, III. p. 205.

Bomilcar landed from Carthage a reinforcement of troops and elephants, in the country of the Locri, for Hannibal.—Catrou, III. p. 209.

Hannibal, while besieging the citadel of Tarentum, was necessitated to march in haste to relieve Capua, his beloved city, reduced to hunger and great distress. Leaving his heavy troops and baggage in the country of the Brutii, he took with him his invincible cavalry and light armed infantry, and marched for Campania. *His elephants, thirty-three in number, also accompanied him, and were as swift as his men and horses: their heavy carcasses did not sink under the fatigues of a hasty march:* he encamped near Capua. In an attack by the Romans, three elephants were killed.—Catrou, III. p. 299. Livy, B. XXIV. Ch. VI. B.C. 211.

Hannibal was defeated by Caius Decimus Flavius at Canusium; eight thousand men and five elephants were left dead.—Livy, B. XXVII. Ch. XII. B.C. 209.

Nine years had Asdrubal, Hannibal's brother, commanded in Spain;

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during which period he destroyed the country of the Carpetani with fire, sword, and *elephants*.

He fought the two Scipios at Ibera (Tortosa) and was defeated, but saved his elephants.—Livy, B. XXXIII.

The Scipios gained a bloody victory over Asdrubal, near Cordova; in which five elephants were slain.—Livy, B. XXIII. Ch. XLIX.

At Indibilis, in Arragon, Asdrubal was again defeated by the Scipios, and nine elephants were killed.—Catrou, III. p. 208.

He was defeated, by the same generals, at Munda, in Granada: twelve thousand men and *thirty-nine* elephants were left slain upon the field of battle.

At Aurinx, in Bœtica, Asdrubal lost another battle in which eight elephants were killed, and three were captured.—Livy, B. XXIV. Ch. XLII.

Thus were the nine years employed, when he collected his troops, and fled to the Pyrenees, in order to join his brother in Italy. He gained the affection of the Averni in Gaul, and was accompanied by a good number of them over the Alps, and also by the Mountaineers. He found the mountains more passable than when his brother had crossed them; the roads being worn by the numbers who had gone over them for the last twelve years.

B.C. 207. Hannibal, being at Grumentum in Lucania, was attacked by the consul Nero, who killed eight thousand troops and four elephants: and captured seven thousand prisoners and two elephants. By a stratagem Hannibal reached Metapontus, in the gulf of Tarentum, and recruited his army with the troops under Hanno.

In the mean while Asdrubal had unexpectedly passed the Alps in the short space of two months. Of his large force he had remaining forty thousand foot, eight thousand horse, and fifteen elephants: his army increased on his arrival in Italy.

He laid siege to Placentia, but failed in his attempt, and proceeded to Umbria. His letters to Hannibal were intercepted. On this discovery, Nero hastened to meet Asdrubal. After encamping near Sena, the two armies fought on the banks of the Metaurus. The elephants being attacked at once by horse and foot, turned their rage against their own army: some grew furious and ran about, having thrown their guides, treading down the battalions. Asdrubal had ordered their managers to carry a kind of knife and mallet; and to destroy such as were ungovernable, by driving the knife with all their strength, into the joint which connects the head with the neck. Six were thus dispatched. Asdrubal, covered with blood, and distracted with the slaughter of his troops, rushed into the midst of a Roman battalion, and died fighting. Fifty-five thousand Carthaginians were slain, and four elephants were captured.—Livy, B. XXVII. Catrou, 410 to 416.

When Hannibal's brother marched, by the Alps, to Italy, he left the command in Spain to Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, whose army consisted of seventy thousand foot, forty-five thousand horse, and thirty-two elephants. Scipio, with an inferior force, defeated him at Bæcula: and in the retreat, (during which there was a violent tempest), destroyed all his troops except six thousand: this general and Mago, a brother of Hannibal, escaped to Cadiz.—Catrou, III. p. 435 to 439. Polybius, B. XI. B.C. 206.

Scipio invaded Africa, and at Utica again defeated the son of Gisco and Syphax, who had one hundred and forty elephants, six of which Scipio captured.—Catrou, III. pp. 511, 520. B.C. 203

Mago, Hannibal's brother, invaded Italy by sea. The Prætor, Varus, and the Proconsul C. Cethegus, gained a great victory over him in Insubria, notwithstanding the terror inspired by his large front of elephants, which was drawn up before the Roman cavalry. Mago was

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wounded, and retreated towards Liguria.—Catrou, III. 537. Livy, XXX. Ch. XVIII.

B.C. 202. Hannibal followed Scipio to Africa. At the battle of Zama he placed eighty elephants in the front. These animals causing much slaughter among Scipio's light-armed troops, he ordered his Italian cavalry to dismount; and, having himself done the same, they showered their darts upon the elephants, one of which was killed by Scipio. Some of the elephants threw Hannibal's right wing into confusion. After a tremendous conflict, Hannibal fled for refuge to Adrumetum. By the third article of the treaty which followed, the Carthaginians engaged to *deliver up all the elephants* which were trained for war, and

B.C. 201. not to tame any more of these animals. Part of them were sent to Rome, and part given to Masinissa. At the triumph granted to Scipio, after the white bulls and other victims to be offered in sacrifice, the elephants, taken from the enemy, followed in the procession. —Catrou, III. 553 to 571.

B.C. 200. The Romans, for the first time, employ elephants in their wars. A battle is fought with Philip, King of Macedon, at Lycus.—Livy, B. XXXI.

B.C. 197. At Cynocephalæ, near Thebes, in Bœotia, Q. Flaminius defeated Philip, King of Macedon, by his elephants producing disorder and confusion in the king's army.—Catrou, IV. 73.

B.C. 192. Greece being now the seat of war, Antiochus the Great sent ten thousand foot and six elephants to Demetrias. Polixenidas was dispatched to conduct the rest of the troops into Europe. The King of Syria threatened Larissa in vain. His first line consisted of elephants. —Catrou, IV. 162.

B.C. 191. The Consul Acilius set out for Greece in the month of May, attended by L. Q. Flaminius, and the famous Cato as a legionary tribune. The consul landed with twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and

fifteen elephants. He rested his army at Larissa, and then ravaged the country at Hypata, between Mount Pindus and Mount Othrys. All Thessaly fell off from Antiochus, and joined with the strongest side. Hannibal was with the king, and gave him excellent counsel; but it was neglected. Cleoptolemus, a considerable citizen at Chalcis, had lent his house to Antiochus, with the daughter of whom the king became enamoured, married her, and was intoxicated with the charms of his new queen. The Asiatic reinforcements had not yet arrived. The king seized the celebrated defile of Thermopylæ, fortified it, and guarded the summits of Mount Œta which were nearest his camp, with his two thousand Œtolians.

The consul was in great perplexity, and listened to the advice of Cato. Taking a detachment of troops, Cato ascended the difficult heights; and at the same time Acilius attacked the Syrians in front, and forced their first line. While he was endeavouring to force the second line, and suffering great loss of men by the pikes of the Asiatics, Cato was seen in the rear by the troops of Antiochus, driving in the Œtolians. Some resistance was still making, when the king received a blow with a stone, which broke his teeth, and he withdrew. The Syrians flung down their arms and fled: fortunately, their elephants in the rear covered their flight, and saved a considerable part of the army. The Romans fell to plundering the camp, and killed many men, horses, and elephants. The remaining elephants were captured.

Acilius, embracing Cato, said—"The service you have done the republic is greater than the favours she has ever done you." This was saying a great deal of a *new man*. After this, the last exploit by which Cato signalized himself in war, he became a great reformer.—Plutarch, "Cato." Livy, B. XXXVI. Catrou, B. XXXIX.

Acilius marched towards Chalcis. Antiochus, with his queen, retired

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to Ephesus. After taking Chalcis, Heraclea, and Lamia, the consul resolved to attack Naupactus, (Lepanto), for which purpose he, with his army and baggage, marched across Corax, the *highest mountain in Greece*. Great numbers of soldiers and beasts of burthen were killed by tumbling down the precipices.—Catrou, IV. 185. (It is not said how many elephants were in the army of the consul; but, in addition to his own, there were those captured at Thermopylæ.)

A Truce was made.

B.C. 190. In the battle at Magnesia, in Asia Minor, between Antiochus and L. C. Scipio, the Romans had thirty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and fourteen elephants. The Syrian forces were seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty-four elephants, with towers of *several floors* full of slingers and archers, men mounted on camels, and Arabians upon dromedaries. Scipio's elephants were from Africa, those of Antiochus from India. The latter vastly excelled the former in strength, height, and courage; therefore young Scipio placed his elephants only as a corps de reserve, in the rear of his army. In this bloody action, Antiochus lost fifty thousand killed and prisoners. Only fifteen elephants were taken alive, almost the whole of the remainder the Romans had killed in the battle, by cutting off their trunks with their swords. Antiochus fled to Sardis.—Livy, B. XXXVII.—Catrou, IV. B. XLI.

B.C. 188. By the ninth article of the peace, the king engaged to deliver up all his elephants, and not to train up any more for war.

B.C. 171. In the war between the Romans, and Perses, king of Macedon, the Consul Licinius received, while he was on the banks of the Peneus, a reinforcement of twenty-two elephants and two thousand troops. They were brought by Misagenes, a bastard son of Masinissa.—Catrou, IV. 393.

B.C. 169. Perses, the king, was now in Macedon. The Consul Marcius, being

with his army at Pharsalia, resolved on invading Macedon; and, notwithstanding his age and corpulence, he bore the fatigues of the most laborious march recorded in history. He sent forward Attalus and Misagenes, with their auxiliaries, to level the roads as much as possible: they were followed by the beasts of burthen, waggons, and elephants. The consul, with his legions, brought up the rear. The great danger was in descending the mountains: some elephants and horses had tumbled down the precipices. In order to get down with more security, the Romans built bridges of boards, one below another, upon posts like piles, and covered them with earth. When an elephant had come near to the first bridge, the piles of it were cut, and the beast was suffered to slide down to the second bridge; and so on, till at length they reached the valley. The army could not march above seven miles each day. Marcius himself confessed that Perses might have cut all his army in pieces, with a handful of men.

The army, after great suffering, arrived in Macedon; and, from necessity, encamped in a deep valley, where the enemy might with stones have destroyed it. Perses became the jest of his soldiers, for losing these opportunities. When he received the intelligence, he was amazed and perplexed. He ordered all the gold and silver in the treasury at Pella, to be thrown into the sea: his ships at Thessalonica to be burnt, and all his valuable statues to be sent on board his vessels at Dium. He fled to Pydna.

The consul, being distressed for provisions, returned to the frontiers of Thessaly: he again advanced, and the Roman fleet arrived. Melibœa, upon mount Ossa, and other places, were kept in awe by Roman detachments. The campaign ended without much weakening Perses.

Polybius (the historian) arrived from the republic of Achaia, to offer the consul some troops to join Appius Claudius: but the offer was declined.—Catrou, B. XLIV.

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Paulus Æmilius, now sixty years old, was appointed consul; and was sent to Greece. He encamped on the banks of the Enipeus in Thessaly. Perses, who was encamped on the opposite bank, removed to Pydna. On this, Paulus Æmilius crossed, and marched towards Pythium, in order to join his detachment. This place stood on the highest summit of mount Olympus. The consul encamped in a valley on the sea shore. He *mounted Olympus with his army, joined his detachment at Pythium,* and descended with caution, not knowing what ambushes Perses might have prepared. Having reached the plain, the consul marched along the sea shore, in communication with his fleet; his troops being much distressed with thirst and fatigue, from the great heat. Having arrived near Pydna, the army was drawn up in battalia, in sight of the enemy, who was prepared and in good order. But the consul resolved to rest his army, and the pioneers formed a camp for the night.

Perses had a fine army, of forty-five thousand troops. A battle was fought in the morning. The Romans were inferior in number, but killed twenty-five thousand, and lost incredibly few. No use was made of the elephants, the Romans being undeceived as to any advantage arising from them in battle: they were therefore employed in pursuing the Aglaspides when the first legion had routed them. In this action Cato, son of the censor, who had married the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, performed acts of valour, worthy his descent. Nevertheless, an inundation of Phalangites fell on the company he commanded, and forced it to retire. In this retreat Cato perceived that he had dropped his sword, he therefore assembled some of his friends, and returned to the charge. This company of brave men fell with fury on the enemy, and made such a void round Cato, that he had time and room to look for his sword, and found it — an action which was very pleasing to Paulus Æmilius. As to Perses, his whole mind

and time were occupied in thinking of and attending to his vases and other utensils of gold and silver: and in sparing his wealth, instead of making a liberal use of it among those of his defenders who had a just right to expect rewards. This contemptible conduct led to the loss of his wealth, his liberty, and his life; and transferred the mighty kingdom of Alexander to the Romans; under whom it became a province. See Plutarch, "P. Æmilius." Livy, XLIV. XLV. Catrou, Book XLVI.

Antiochus, being humbled by the inflexible and haughty Roman ambassadors, resolved to vent his rage on Jerusalem.—Catrou, IV. 409. B.C. 163. "The number of the king's army was one hundred thousand footmen, twenty thousand horse-men, and thirty-two elephants, exercised in battle. The king, rising very early, marched fiercely to battle, and sounded the trumpets. And to the end they might provoke the elephants to fight, they shewed them the blood of grapes and of mulberries. Moreover, they divided the beasts among the armies, and for every elephant they appointed a thousand men, armed with coats of mail, and with helmets of brass on their heads: and besides this, for every beast were ordained five hundred horsemen of the best. And upon the beasts, were there strong towers of wood, which covered every one of them, and were girt fast unto them with devices: there were also upon every one, two-and-thirty strong men, that fought upon them, beside the Indian that ruled him. Now, when the sun shone upon the shields of gold and brass, the mountains glistered therewith and shined like lamps of fire. Then Judas and his host drew near, and entered into the battle; and the king lost six hundred men. Eleazar, also surnamed Savaran, perceiving that one of the beasts, armed with royal harness, was higher than all the rest, and supposing that the king was upon him, ran forward courageously, slaying on the right hand and on the left, so that they were divided from him on both sides. Which

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done, he crept under the elephant and thrust him under and slew him: whereupon the elephant fell down upon him, and there he died. Howbeit, the rest of the Jews, seeing the strength of the king, and the violence of his forces, turned away from them. Then the king's army went up to Jerusalem to meet them, and the king pitched his tents against Judea, and against mount Sion."—1 Maccabees, Ch VI.

B.C. 134. Scipio, having the command in Spain, Micipsa sent him a reinforcement of elephants and cavalry by young Prince Jugurtha, who afterwards became so famous.—Catrou, V. 87.

B.C. 111. Jugurtha, now King of Numidia, delivered to the Romans thirty elephants, money, &c.—Catrou, Vol. V. p. 207.

B.C. 109. Q. Cæcilius Numidicus, at the battle of Muthullus, in Africa, killed forty of Jugurtha's elephants, and captured four.—Catrou, Vol. V. p. 220.

B.C. 108. Jugurtha delivered up to Metellus two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, and all his elephants.—Catrou, Vol. V. p. 225.

B.C. 53. Cæsar had a vastly large armed elephant when he crossed the Thames at Oatlands, at the sight of which the Britons fled.—Polyænus, B. VIII.

B.C. 46. Julius Cæsar drew out before Thapsus, causing sixty-four elephants, which he had taken, with all their castles, armour, and ornaments, to pass by the town, to reduce Virgilius to reason.

A veteran of the fifth legion, observing an elephant that was enraged with a wound which he had received, attack an unarmed sutler, crushing him under his knee till the weight had forced his soul to forsake his body, roaring all the while, and brandishing his proboscis, could no longer restrain himself from engaging the beast. The elephant, perceiving him approach, forsook the dead body, caught his enemy up in his trunk, in armour as he was, and whirled him about in the air. The veteran, notwithstanding the peril he was in, maintained his presence

of mind, and cut the elephant's proboscis till he obliged him to forego his prey. He retired, with a hideous roaring, to the rest of his companions.—Cæsar's Com. " Africa," XVIII.

Claudius invaded Britain, like a great Eastern monarch, with armed elephants, and fifty thousand troops.—Milton's History of Britain. Rapin. Camden. A.D. 43.

When Didius Julianus was informed that Septimius Severus had commenced his march, nothing was to be seen at Rome but horses, troops, and elephants, training for service*.—Bernard. A.D. 193.

In the battle between Alexander Severus and Artaxerxes, the Persians had seven hundred elephants, of which two hundred were killed, and three hundred taken; the Emperor took with him eighteen to Rome.—Speech of Alexander Severus to the senate. Bernard, from Lampridius, Vol. I. p. 450. A.D. 230.

The Emperor Jovian, near the castle of Suma, was attacked by the Persian cavalry, accompanied by a great number of elephants. The shock was great, but the Romans, taking advantage of a rising ground, threw darts, and wounded the elephants, which fled, and broke the line of cavalry, when the soldiers killed many of them, and of the Persians. The Romans marched forward four days, continually harassed by the enemy. At length they crossed the Tigris, upon floats of skins fastened together.—Zosimus, p. 89. A.D. 364.

* All the elephants of course fell into the hands of Severus, on the overthrow of Julian.

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CHAPTER X.

Of Roman Amphitheatres, remains of which exist in Britain—— Italy —— France —— Spain —— Sicily —— Greece —— Syria —— and other Countries.

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METELLUS brought to Rome, from the Sicilian war, one hundred and twenty elephants, which he had taken from Jugurtha. These were the first that were introduced into the Circus, in the year 251 before Christ*. *From this period, the passion for public exhibitions, and combats of wild beasts, spread not only in Italy, but throughout the Roman empire, in all the provinces. Such was the general rage, that scarcely a fixed military station was without its circus or amphitheatre of turf or timber.*

The size and form of the Circus, with the lists and goals, being found inconvenient, Cæsar introduced the elliptic shape; and henceforth these buildings were named "theatrum venatorium," or theatre for hunting;

* The first permanent Circus (called Maximus) was built by Tarquinius Priscus between the Aventine and the Palatine hills: it was enlarged by Julius Cæsar, Claudius, and Nero, when it contained two hundred and sixty thousand spectators: it was further increased by Hadrian, Constantine, and his son Constans. Many others were built of different sizes. The most perfect remains are those of the small circus, built by Caracalla, capable of holding eighteen thousand people.—See Rees's Cyc. "Circus."

but, from their superior accommodations, they were likewise used for the combats of gladiators. They however, continued to be called Circus as often as Amphitheatre, and the other names.

Some were little more than *natural valleys*, with benches cut in the declivity of surrounding hills: others were elliptical excavations, with benches of turf, like that near Sandwich, in Kent; some were partly excavated, and partly constructed with masonry, like the amphitheatre at Caerleon in Britain. There were also amphitheatres constructed to hold water, for the combats of aquatic and amphibious animals.

Those built with timber were raised and taken down as occasion required. Vespasian's amphitheatre is said, by Cassiodorus, to have cost as much to build as a capital city: and Martial relates, that, from every part of the empire, the Roman world crowded to the capital to be present at these grand games. Many vestiges of amphitheatres still remain, and have been discovered in the following countries:—

In Italy.—At Rome, Capua, Fidene*, Placentia, Verona, Aousta†, Alba, Otriculi, Gariglio, Puzzuoli, Pæstum, Cassino, Mola, Canusium, Lavinia‡.

France.—At Arles, Orange§, Autun, Treves||, Paris**, Nismes, Bourdeau.

Spain.—At Italica, (Seville).

* A few miles north of Rome; this theatre fell in the reign of Tiberius. Fifty thousand persons were killed or maimed.—Tacitus, Annal. IV.

† Rees's Cyclop.

‡ See Bernard, Vol. I. p. 185.

§ Civitas Aurensis, called Colonia Secundanorum. The second legion were settled here. An amphitheatre is still to be seen.—Rees's Cyc. "Arausio."

|| After the victory of Constantine the Great over the Franks and the Allemanni, several of their princes were, by his order, exposed to the wild beasts in the Amphitheatre at Treves (then the capital of Gaul).—Gibbon, Ch. XIV.

** Gibbon, Ch. XIX. p. 177.

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Britain—At Richborough, Caerleon, Silchester, Dorchester, and other places.

Sicily.—At Catanea, Agrigentum, Syracuse.

Greece.—At Argos, Corinth.

Candia.—At Gortina and Gerapitna.

At Pola in Istria. At Delos, Ephesus, Chisico, Heraclea, Jerusalem, Cæsarea. The two last were built by Herod *.

"Maiden Castle is the most entire and prodigious work in England, and, passing for a Roman stationary camp, it is surrounded by two prodigious ditches, to which all I ever saw are trifles; and at the entrance their number is increased by several others, and the way cunningly blinded by divisions. About the like distance to the north of the way is a piece of ground, called Pomeroy, (Pomœrium, as I suppose), which has in it also a large square, inclosed with a high bank, but without any ditch: on the outside there is a raised area, about ten yards broad, which shews its design could not be military. On the south side, about a furlong from Dorchester, is a place called Maumbury, being about an acre, inclosed with a high bank, which is a very pretty and entire amphitheatre †."

The Roman Amphitheatre, close by the Roman road, and a quarter of a mile from Dorchester, is the most perfect structure of its kind remaining in England. It was first publicly noticed by Sir Christopher Wren, and is described by Dr. Stukeley, in his Itinerarium Curiosum. It is raised upon, and was probably framed of, solid chalk, cemented by mortar of burnt chalk; and covered with turf. Its

* See Rees's Encyc. "Amphitheatre;" Le Bruyn's Travels; Dr. Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum; and Encyc. Brit.

† Hutchins. Antiquities of Dorset, Vol. II. p. 172.

greatest height above the level of the arena was thirty feet; the external greatest diameter three hundred and forty-three feet six inches: the external shortest diameter, three hundred and thirty-nine feet six inches: the internal longest diameter two hundred and eighteen feet: the internal shortest diameter one hundred and sixty-three feet six inches. The number of spectators which it was capable of accommodating is computed to be twelve thousand nine hundred and sixty *.

" With respect to the games here practised, we may suppose them much the same as those used at Rome and other places, with relation to hunting and fighting with wild beasts †. Among other shows and diversions of beasts, we may safely imagine that our British bull-dogs bore a part, since the Romans trained them for the Italian amphitheatres.

In these parts of Britain, Vespasian fought thirty battles with the Britons ‡." In the quarto volume, describing the theatre, Dr. Stukeley conjectures that Vespasian had this theatre built in order to flatter and amuse the vanquished.

" At Silchester, in Hampshire, there is an amphitheatre, in bulk and shape and all points the same as that at Dorchester; but not built of such solid materials, for it is chiefly clay and gravel. Eastward, towards the road, there is a pit; there, it is sixty feet high on the outside.

The whole arena within is now covered with water about three feet deep: the bottom must be very solid to contain the water so many years: it is a most noble and beautiful concave, and has, for time im-

* Rees's Encyc. " Dorchester."

† At Frampton in Dorsetshire, extensive and very elegant Mosaic pavements (published by S. Lysons, 1807), were discovered, which represent horses, deer, leopards, and other animals.

‡ Dr. Stukeley, Vol. I. p. 165 to 175. See Ch. XIII.

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memorial, been a yard for cattle, and a watering-pond*. There is an ascent to it on the entrance side, that being upon the lowest ground: at the upper end, the level of the ground is not much below the top of the terrace, and vastly above that of the arena; so that I conceive the better sort of people went that way directly from the city into their seats: there is such a gap, too, in that part (from the ruin of the cave) where the wild beasts were kept. Surveying the whole, could not but put me in mind of that piece of Roman magnificence, when the emperors caused great trees to be taken up by the roots and planted in the amphitheatres and circuses, *pro tempore*, to imitate forests wherein they hunted beasts, which is here presented in pure nature †." This amphitheatre appears to have contained five rows or terraces for spectators ‡.

At Caerleon is an oval concavity, seventy-four by sixty-four yards, and six yards in depth, without doubt the site of a Roman amphitheatre. Within the memory of persons now living, stone seats were discovered on opening the sides of the concavity: and in 1706 a figure of Diana, with her tresses and crescent moulded in alabaster, was found in this place. Caerleon (Isca Silurum) as described by Gyraldus Cambrensis, contained remains of splendid palaces, a gigantic tower, numerous baths, ruins of a temple, and a theatre, the walls of which are partly standing, aqueducts, vaulted caverns, stoves, tessellated pavements, bricks inscribed "Leg. II. Aug." an altar to the Emperor Aurelius Antonius, another to Jupiter Dolichenius as the patron of iron mines, statues, coins, inscriptions, &c. §.

* When the hunting was concluded in Vespasian's amphitheatre, the arena was suddenly filled with water, in which aquatic animals were made to contend. Rees's Cyc. "Amph." This refers to Rome; but it strengthens the conjecture, that the amphitheatre at Silchester was built by Vespasian.

† Dr. Stukeley, Vol. I. p. 178. ‡ Rees's Encyc. "Silchester."

§ Rees's Encyc. "Caerleon." Cox's Tour in Monmouthshire.

"Upon an eminence at Richborough castle, is the (brick) carcass of a castrensian amphitheatre made of turf, I suppose for the exercise and diversion of the garrison; the soil of it is gravel and sand, and has been long so ploughed over that we need not wonder it is so level *."

The reader will form his own conclusion, whether the following was an amphitheatre: "I saw," says Pennant, "for the first time, the path of Helen, (Merioneth), a road supposed to have been made by Helena, wife of the British Emperor Maximus. There are tumuli here, and five urns were found. Not far from Llyn Rathlin, is a very fine Roman camp and vestiges of a wall and ditch. Coins and urns are frequent here: the path of Helen runs into it. At a small distance from the camp is an oval inclosure, thirty-six yards long, and twenty-seven wide, surrounded by a high mound of earth, and an entrance at each end: near one end a part seemed to have been divided off by a wall, the foundations of which still remain †."

There must have been either a circus, or an amphitheatre at or near York. One of the forerunning signs of Severus's death, Spartian relates thus: "Whilst the *games of the cirque were celebrating*, as there were three figures placed, according to custom, upon the platform where the emperor's throne is, &c." See Ch. XIII.

Three miles from Redruth, in Cornwall, there were the remains of an amphitheatre, as Dr. Stukeley had been told, with six tire of seats.

"At Wolvedon, in the parish of Probus near Lanceston, where Roman coins have been found, there is an angular fort which has a wide deep ditch, the outer edge of which was faced upwards, with thin stones in cement; and which had round turrets or buttresses, such as Saxons, Danes, and Britons built not, as far as I can find. This is very singular in our country, where most of our ancient fortifications are

* Dr. Stukeley, Vol. I. p. 125. † Tour in Wales, Vol. II. p. 103.

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circular, without any projections. From the artful fence of this ditch, as well as from the polygon which the whole forms, I guess it to be Roman†.

Where these stone inclosures are circular, and distinguished by seats and benches of like materials, they were, no doubt, constructed thus for the convenience of spectators at plays, games, and festivals. But, as to delight the eye more than the ear, was most required, the amphitheatrical form had the preference. In these amphitheatres of stone, the Britons did usually assemble to hear plays, and see sports and games, to quiet and delight the people; an institution very necessary in all civil societies: these are called with us in Cornwall, where we have *great numbers* of them, *plan an guare*, viz, the plain of sport and pastime. The benches round, were generally of turf, as Ovid, talking of these places of sport, observes.

We have one whose benches are of stone, and the most remarkable one I have seen: it is near the church of St. Just Penwith: an exact circle of one hundred and twenty-six feet in diameter; the height from the area within, now seven feet; but from the bottom of the ditch without, ten feet now, but formerly more. The seats consist of six steps, fourteen inches wide, a foot high, with one on the top of all, where the rampart is, seven feet wide. The *plays* were in the Cornish language, the subjects from scripture‡."

About a mile from Cheselbury, on the east side of the Avon, is a curious earth work supposed to be a Roman amphitheatre. It is an oval: the bank is thirty feet wide, the southern segment five hundred and fifty feet in diameter, and seven hundred and twenty in compass§.

* * * *

† Borlace. Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 313.

‡ Borlace, B. IV. Ch. VII. § Camden, Vol. I. p. 109.

The most considerable antiquity in Jebilee is the remains of a noble theatre. The remaining semicircle is a hundred yards in compass, and there are seventeen windows, between which are large massy pillars, eleven feet thick, of firm stone, standing against the wall*.

We found the ruins of an amphitheatre at Puzzeoli; another near to Mola, one at Delos and a statue of Diana;—at Ephesus the ruins of a circus, an amphitheatre, and also ruins of the temple of Diana;—a fine amphitheatre at Chisico, and the remains of a noble one at Heraclea†.

M. Æmilius Scaurus, to make a strong impression on the minds of the people, chose (B. C. 58) to build a theatre in Rome, which was not to be a lasting monument, like that of Pompey, but to continue only during the time of his being in office. The scenes and decorations were a solid work of the most valuable materials. There were three orders of very fine pillars, raised one above another to a great height. The first rank of columns, was of rich marble, brought from Numidia, and thirty-eight feet high. The second rank was of crystal, an unusual thing, and never since imitated. The third was of light wood, very richly gilt: the heights were lessened in proper proportion. In the places between this forest of columns, stood three thousand statues of brass upon suitable pedestals. The seats held eighty thousand persons.

The number and magnificence of the habits of the actors, all in the eastern fashion, were so prodigious, that this mad extravagance ruined Scaurus, though very rich. The *remains* of this building were valued at a hundred millions of little sesterces (by Arbuthnot's calculation, sterling £807,291 : 13 : 4).

* Maundrell's Travels to Jerusalem, A.D. 1696.

† Cornelius Le Bruyn's Travels.

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Five hundred panthers were let loose in the arena. Five crocodiles and a hippopotamus, for the first time, were shewn alive. Scaurus had brought the ribs of a whale from Joppa, forty feet long*.

The amphitheatre at Placentia is said to have been the largest in Italy.

Vespasian began, and his son Titus finished, the Flavian amphitheatre, called also the Coliseum. It is deservedly celebrated as a prodigy of building among the antients. At the solemn games exhibited when this theatre was dedicated, five thousand wild beasts, according to Eutropius; nine thousand, according to Dio, were destroyed on its arena.

We learn from a passage in St. Chrysostom that the beasts intended for the public games, were kept *in the environs of cities;* and Procopius makes particular mention of a spacious place in Rome called the *Vivarium,* appropriated to that use†.

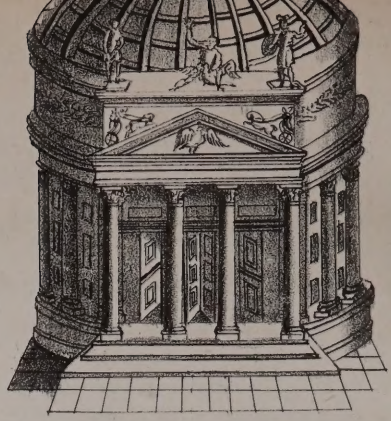
Maffei, in his elaborate treatise, shews, that amphitheatres of stone were not numerous, few cities in Italy could boast of them. Wooden ones were built in several parts of the empire‡.

This will account for bones of wild beasts being found in many places where there are no vestiges of amphitheatres.

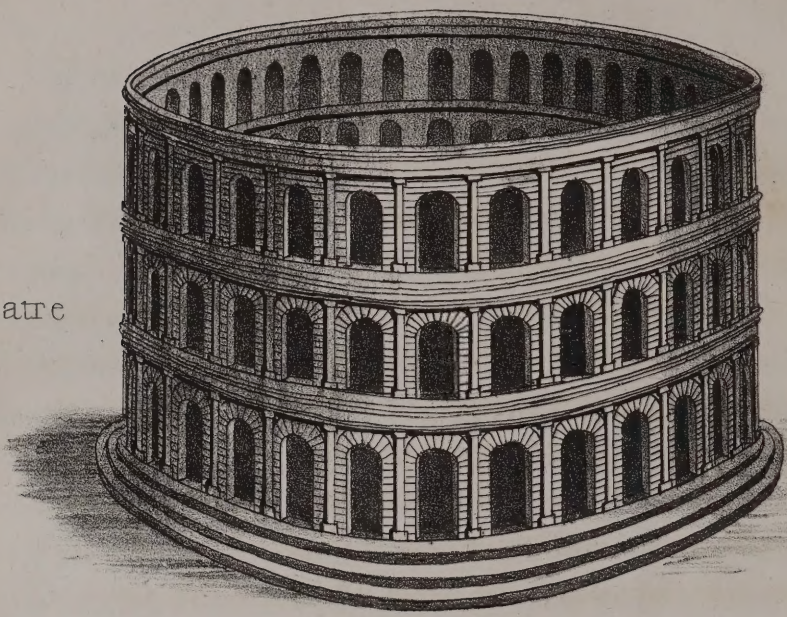
* Catrou, Vol. VI. p. 96. Pliny, Lib. XXXVI.

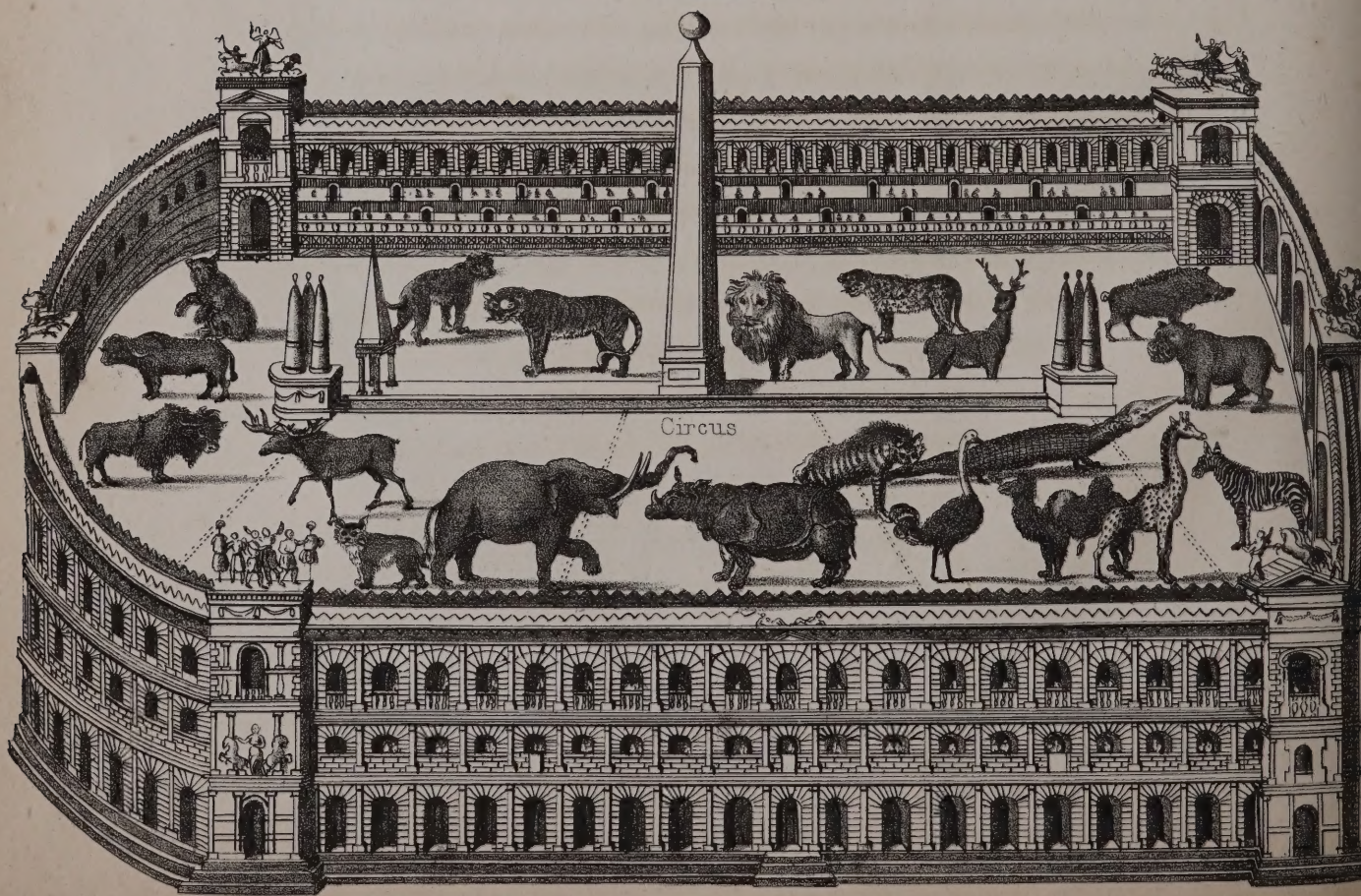
† Rees's Encyc. "Amphitheatre." ‡ See Keysler's Travels.

Temple for Sacrifices



Amphitheatre of Claudius





CHAPTER XI.

Sports and Combats in the Circus and Amphitheatre; in which were slain, Elephants —— Rhinoceroses —— Hippopotami —— Bears —— Lions —— Tigers —— Hyænas —— Camelopards Crocodiles —— Ostriches, &c. in surprising numbers. —— Grand Triumphal Processions at Rome. —— Chariots drawn by tamed Lions, Leopards, Tigers, Orixes with one horn, Stags, &c.*

So general was the passion for these diversions, that scarcely any camp or military station was without them. The people chose rather to live on bread and water in Rome, than lose these sights.

Every savage animal that could be procured in the forests of Asia or Africa, was brought to be hunted: no cost was spared to fetch them. The shows were designed for the honour of Diana†.

> " All that with potent teeth command the plain,
> All that run horrid with erected mane;
> Or proud of stately horns or bristling hair,
> At once the forest's ornament and fear;

* Spelt also oryx, oryges.

† Rees's " Amph." See Kennett, Part II. B. V. Ch. II. from which severa of these extracts are taken.

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Torn from their deserts by the Roman power,
Nor strength can save, nor craggy dens secure."

* * * *

——— "Part in laden vessels came,
Borne on the rougher waves, or gentler stream;
The fainting slave let fall his trembling oar;
And the pale master feared the freight he bore†."

Sometimes animals were presented merely as strange sights and rarities; such as crocodiles and outlandish beasts and birds. Others for combats or slaughter. For these purposes were introduced elephants, rhinoceroses, hippopotami, camelopards, zebras, lions, tigers, leopards, panthers, bears, hyænas, ostriches, stags and deer of every kind, hares, and such like. There were three kinds of diversions.

I. When the people were allowed to seize and secure what they could, for their own use, as deer, hares, sheep, boars, oxen, and all kinds of birds. A natural forest being represented by trees transplanted into the circus or amphitheatre, the beasts were let in from their dens; and, at a sign given by the Emperor, the people fell to hunting the animals; and each carried away what he killed. Tablets, or tickets, (*tesseræ*), were previously scattered among the multitude, entitling those who caught them to the animals inscribed upon them: they were termed Missilia.

II. The combats of beasts admitted of great sport and variety. Sometimes an elephant was matched with a bull, a rhinoceros with a bear, a lion with a tiger, a bull with a lion. And deer were hunted

† Claudian.

round the arena by a pack of dogs†. But the most wonderful sight was when, by converting the arena into a lake, huge aquatic animals, crocodiles, &c. were introduced to combat with wild beasts. At the Games of Carinus ‡, says Calphurnius, Ecl. VII.

> Not only did I see wood-monsters there,
> But sea-calves also tugging with the bear.
> And that misshapen ugly beast withal,
> Which we, not without cause, the *sea-horse* call §.

III. Men engaged with wild beasts, and had the common name of Bestiarii. The vilest malefactors were doomed to such combats. Others hired themselves at a set pay, like the gladiators, and had their schools, where they were instructed in such conflicts. Some of the nobility and gentry voluntarily undertook a part in these encounters. Even the softer sex was infected with this *fancy*.

> Sometimes, with naked breast, the sturdy w****
> Shakes the broad spear against the Tuscan boar ||.

* * * *

The safety of the combatants consisted in nimbly turning and leaping, to elude their adversaries, while they assailed them with darts and spears: one man has been known to kill twenty animals let in upon

† British bull-dogs, mastiffs, and beagles, were exported to Rome."—Dr. Henry, "Hist. of Eng."

‡ Carinus was governor of Britain and other provinces during the absence of his father in the East.— Augustan Hist. "Carinus."

§ Hippopotamus. See Gibbon, Ch. XII. n. 88. Hakewill, 446.

|| Juvenal, Sat. I.

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him at once. The beasts, however, were in general successful; and were therefore commonly despatched by missile weapons thrown from the higher parts of the amphitheatre, out of the reach of the animals; and usually in one show three or four hundred were thus slain.

* * * *

The Greeks and Romans tamed wild beasts. In the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria, twenty-four chariots were drawn by elephants, twelve by lions, seven by orixes, five by buffaloes, eight by ostriches, four by wild asses, &c. Upon the neck of one of the elephants, was mounted a satyr with a crown of gold: the elephant had a harness of gold, and wore about his neck a garland, in shape resembling ivy leaves, but made of gold.

There were Indian women, camels laden with cinnamon, and tusks of six hundred elephants. There were twenty-six white oxen from India, twenty-four thousand Indian dogs†, curious birds, a hundred and thirty Ethiopian, and three hundred Arabian sheep; four lynxes, fourteen leopards, sixteen panthers, three brown bears, a white bear, one camelopardalis, and one Ethiopian rhinoceros.

* * * *

Gordian possessed, as Capitolinus informs us, sixty lions and thirty leopards, tamed‡.

† The sovereign had so immense a number of Indian dogs, that four great towns in the vicinity of Babylon were exempted from all other tax, but that of maintaining them. Herodotus, Clio, CXCI. This alludes to the period of Cyrus. A note says, the antients believed these dogs, which were very celebrated, to be produced from a bitch and a tiger. Bajazet had twelve thousand dog-keepers. See Ch. IV.

‡ Monfaucon, Vol. III. p. 179; and Bruce's Travels, Vol. I. p. 458. The above

* * * *

The chariots of the Romans were drawn by elephants: they had sometimes two, and sometimes four; and frequently, when they had towers upon their backs, they at the same time drew one of those little chariots which were used for racing in the circus. These towers they generally put upon the backs of single elephants, both for warfare and travelling, as they do at this day in Persia and India.

* * * *

The Romans were drawn by camels; and Pliny tells us that Mark Antony made use of lions. Heliogabalus did the same; and also of boars, stags, wild asses, bisontes, and oryges, a sort of animal with *one horn*, which Ptolemy, according to Athenæus, drew his carriage with †.

* * * *

Heliogabalus ran a race with four chariots, each drawn by four elephants, being himself the driver: and another race, with as many camels. He appeared at other times drawn by four great dogs, or four large stags; sometimes by lions, sometimes by tigers. He had

Ptolemy possessed two hundred millions sterling (see Lempriere). When Egypt was conquered by Augustus, all the treasures of that country were transferred to Rome. (Montesquieu, Grandeur des Romains, Ch. XVII). Nothing could be easier than for the Romans to procure the same kinds of animals, and in any numbers, with the riches of Egypt.

† Montfaucon, Vol. IV. p. 125.

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hippopotami, a crocodile, a rhinoceros, *little dragons*, and all the strange beasts of Egypt, which could be transported †.

* * * *

Hippopotami were often exhibited. Scaurus, B.C. 58, introduced one with some crocodiles, for the first time; Augustus one; Commodus produced five; Carinus many; besides Heliogabalus, Gordian, and others. Teeth of the hippopotamus attain the weight of thirteen pounds. "Pausanius parle d'une statue de déesse dont la face etoit faite de ces dents ‡."

* * * *

Elephants were first introduced into the circus by Metellus, (before Christ, 251) who captured above a hundred and twenty from the Carthaginians, at the battle of Palermo. The Romans, about fifty years afterwards, first employed elephants in their war with Philip king of Macedon, at the battle of Lycus §. In order to show the Romans the nature of elephants, when they first began to use them in warfare, a considerable number were driven through the circus, by a few slaves armed only with blunt javelins ||.

* * * *

† Lampridius, *vide* Bernard, Vol. I. p. 382. The little dragon, whatever it was, if found, might be thought to be of an extinct species.

‡ See Cuvier, Theorie de la Terre, et Ossemens Fossiles. Rees's Encyc. "Hippopotamus."

§ Livy, B. XXXI.

|| Gibbon, Ch. XII. The Romans appear at length to have tamed elephants with as much skill as the Asiatics. In the reign of Nero a distinguished Roman knight rode along a rope upon an elephant. Suetonius, "Nero." Ch. XI.

Cornelius Scipio Nasica and C. Lentulus, were the first who introduced combats between beasts and armed men. There were sixty-three lions, forty bears, and a great number of elephants let loose in the circus. These were bloody battles, but the Romans delighted in bloodshed. They thereby kept up that martial spirit, which made them superior to all other nations †.

* * * *

In the year B.C. 168, there were shown to the people above sixty ostriches, and a great number of elephants and bears ‡.

* * * *

In the procession of Antiochus Epiphanes, a chariot was drawn by two elephants; and thirty-six followed promiscuously: and there were eight hundred elephants' tusks.

* * * *

Besides that, Sylla bought the suffrages of the Romans at a dear rate; he gratified them with a new and splendid show. Bocchus, king of Mauritania, sent him a hundred lions, and some Mauritanians, who were accustomed to fight them. It was a double pleasure to see them let loose upon men armed with spears, who knew how to avoid their attacks, and were very expert in striking them. This entertainment was thought afterwards to contribute as much towards Sylla's promotion, as either his reputation or his exploits §.

† Livy, B. XLIV. Catrou, IV. p. 416. ‡ Catrou, IV. p. 439.
§ Catrou, Vol. V. p. 315.

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* * * *

Pompey brought a number of elephants from Africa, which he had captured in that country. He gave directions that his chariot should be drawn by four elephants: but the arch not being wide enough for them to pass abreast, he was forced to be content with horses as usual.

At the opening of his theatre, Pompey exhibited a variety of games, and battles with wild beasts: in which five hundred lions were slain in five days. Eighteen elephants fought with one another, then with gladiators; and, lastly, with Getulian archers, who were hunters of wild elephants. Some were killed, when the survivors grew mad, and made terrible and furious efforts to break the iron grating which separated them from the spectators. Fear seized the assembly. It was soon turned into compassion for the poor animals. The elephants lifted up their trunks to heaven, as if to call on the Gods to witness the perfidiousness of men: and the people concluded that they had been forced on board ship, after a promise that their lives should be saved: for the Romans fancied that elephants had reason, and understood the language of men, though they could not answer them. This accident was the cause of Cæsar's invention of the amphitheatre; which was more convenient than the circus, and not exposed to such dangers †.

* * * *

Julius Cæsar, in his third consulship, exhibited forty elephants. Twenty were opposed to five hundred combatants on foot. And

† Plutarch, "Pompey." Livy, B. VIII. Catrou, Vol. V. p. 469; Vol. VI. p. 127.

twenty, with turrets upon their backs, sixty men being allowed to defend each turret, were engaged with five hundred horse and as many foot †.

* * * *

Augustus indulged the people with the killing of thirty-six crocodiles, which were chased in the Flaminian circus ‡.

* * * *

Augustus, when at Samos, received an embassy from Pandion and Porus, kings of the Indies, to conclude the treaty of alliance already begun by other Indian ambassadors, who had met the Emperor at Tarragon in Spain. These ambassadors had been four years on their journey. They had a letter from Porus, written in Greek, in which he boasted of his having commanded over six hundred kings. They presented to Augustus pearls, jewels, elephants, tigers, (which last had never yet been seen by the Romans) §; a serpent, twelve cubits long; a river turtle, three cubits long; vipers of a prodigious size, (cobra de capello?); and a partridge larger than a vulture, (probably a florikin, or bustard). An Indian philosopher, who came with the ambassadors, accompanied Augustus to Athens, where he was initiated

† Kennet, p. 268. Pliny, B. VIII. Ch. VII.

‡ Dion Cassius, B. LV. No one in modern times would incur the expense of bringing large crocodiles and other animals from Egypt, such sports not being a mode of courting popularity. Augustus brought such immense treasures from Alexandria, that the interest of money fell, and the price of land rose considerably; the expenditure was therefore not worth considering. See Suetonius, Aug. Ch. XLI.

§ This is a strong confirmation of there not being tigers in Africa; and that the animal named by Adamson "Tiger" in Senegal is a leopard: the latter being called Tigers, in Morocco, according to Chenier, Vol. I. p. 171.

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in the mysteries of Ceres: immediately after which, he caused a funeral pile to be erected; and, after rubbing himself with oil, he, with a smiling countenance, leaped naked into the midst of the flames. His name was Zarmanochegas, he was a native of Bargosa †.

* * * *

There was a combat in which Nero's guards on horseback, shot with arrows four hundred bears, and three hundred lions ‡.

* * * *

Many persons have seen Domitian kill a hundred wild beasts at his seat at Alba; and strike his arrows into their heads, with such dexterity, that he would, at two discharges of his bow, plant as it were, a pair of horns upon them.

He also entertained the people with the chase of wild beasts and combats of gladiators, even in the night time, by the light of lamps §.

" Domitian transported into Italy numbers of elephants; and a herd of them might be seen in the Rutulian forest, near Lavinium, where Turnus, king of the Rutuli, reigned: the country was called Etruria‖."

* * * *

Only on the *birth-days* of Hadrian a thousand wild beasts were always slain in the shows, which is mentioned as a mark of his prudence and moderation ††.

* * * *

† Crevier, " Augustus." ‡ Dion, Nero. § Suetonius, Domitian.
‖ Madan's Juvenal, Sat. XII. Notes, 105, 106. †† Bernard, Vol. I. p. 49.

The Roman people were exceedingly delighted with Claudius and with Nero, who gave them combats between single elephants and experienced fencers.

* * * *

Eutropius, Suetonius, and Cassiodorus, say five thousand (Dion Cassius asserts that nine thousand) wild beasts, of all kinds, were slaughtered in the amphitheatre of Titus, at the dedication of it †.

* * * *

The Emperor Severus commanded a golden statue of Pertinax to be brought into the circus upon a chariot drawn by elephants: and three golden thrones to be erected to his honour in the other theatres.

Severus sent some officers into the islands of the red sea to fetch horses consecrated to the sun, and resembling tigers ‡.

On the return of Severus from Arabia and Egypt, in the tenth year of his reign, at the games, sixty wild-boars fought with each other. An elephant, a crocota, bears, lions, ostriches, wild asses, and *foreign bulls;* in all, seven hundred beasts were killed with darts.

Three hundred were domestic animals. The other four hundred were enclosed in a large ship, built in the amphitheatre, from which they were let out all at once. This show was in the name of Caracalla. Severus's triumph was celebrated at York. See Ch. XIII. and the medal, Plate I. A 12.

† Keysler's Travels, Letter LV.

‡ They were probably the Equus Zebra or Quagga, which is a nearer resemblance of the tiger.

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On another occasion, tigers were shot with darts †.

* * * *

Heliogabalus gave the people a combat of forty bears against as many other beasts of Africa. During the excessive heat, they made use of the diribitorium for sports and combats, instead of the theatre. In one day five hundred *bears* were killed in a combat with as many other beasts from *Africa* ‡.

* * * *

Heliogabalus is said to have had six hundred ostriches slaughtered in one day, in order that he might have the brains served up as a dish, to pamper his appetite §. This immense number would appear quite incredible, did we not suppose that ostriches were formerly, as they are said to be at present, kept and bred in Africa.

† Dion.—There is a part of the skull with the horns of a foreign bull in the museum of the Royal College. It was found in Britain. I am tempted to conjecture that Severus introduced the wild bull of the Highlands. Bulls were among the military rewards of the Romans. Vide Encyc. Brit. "Bos." Rees's Cyc. "Bull." and Ch. XIII. of this Vol. It has been said, that the Dorking fowls were introduced by the Romans. Caracalla and Geta were great cock-fighters.

‡ Dion Cassius, Heliog.—The diribitorium was a building in which the soldiers were mustered, received their pay, &c. It was an immense place, and had the largest roof that had ever been known.

§ This capricious monster is said, by Lampridius, to have fed his lions and other wild beasts with pheasants and parrots, and his dogs with the livers of geese. Also, that when his company was well in drink, he would lock them up, and in the night let in tamed lions, bears, and panthers, the claws and teeth of which had been extracted; so that, when the guests awoke, they were sometimes struck dead with fright.—Bernard, Vol. I. p. 379.

We know that bears were bred by the Romans. The inhabitants of Dara, Lybia, Numidia, and Bornou, breed ostriches, for their flesh, as food, and for their feathers, as merchandise. It is asserted by Adanson, that, at the factory at Podore, he had himself two ostriches that ran faster than a race-horse, each with a negro upon his back†.

* * * *

Commodus, in the arena, intercepted the rapid career, and cut off the long bony neck of the ostrich with arrows, whose points were formed like a crescent. The dens of the amphitheatres disgorged at once a hundred lions, which he laid dead by his unerring shafts. The elephant, the scaly rhinoceros, the camelopard of Ethiopia and India's most extraordinary animals were slain ‡.

* * * *

Commodus, who debased himself in every manner imaginable, appeared in the amphitheatre to please his concubine Martia, in the habit of an Amazon, a dress in which he most admired that favourite. He killed great numbers of gladiators, who were afraid to exercise all their dexterity or strength against the Emperor. The senate, even when he killed a lion or other animal, added their applauses to those of the people, servilely crying out, "Thou overcomest the world: thou art the conqueror, O brave Amazonian!"—De Serviez, "Martia." Dion, Book 72.

* * * *

† Rees's Encyc. "Struthio."

‡ Gibbon, Ch. IV. and note 34; and Bernard, Vol. I. p. 188.

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The pomp of Aurelian's triumph was opened by twenty elephants, four royal tigers, and above two hundred of the most curious animals from every climate of the North, the East, and the South. They were followed by sixteen hundred gladiators devoted to the cruel amusement of the amphitheatre. The wealth of Asia, the arms and ensigns of so many conquered nations, and the magnificent plate and wardrobe of Zenobia, (the captive Syrian Queen), were disposed in exact symmetry, or artful disorder. The ambassadors of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, Bactriana, India, and China, remarkable by their rich and singular dresses, displayed the fame and power of the Roman Emperor, who exposed his numerous presents, and a great number of crowns of gold. Captive Goths, Sarmatians, Syrians, Egyptians, and others, reluctantly attended his triumph. The title of Amazons was bestowed on ten martial heroines of the Gothic nation, who had been taken in arms. The beauteous figure of Zenobia was confined by fetters of gold: a slave supported the gold chain which encircled her neck; and she almost fainted under the intolerable weight of jewels. She preceded, on foot, the magnificent chariot in which she once hoped to enter the gates of Rome. It was followed by two other chariots still more sumptuous, of Odenathus and the Persian monarch. The triumphal car of Aurelian was drawn by four stags or four elephants. The festival was protracted by theatrical representations, the games of the circus, the hunting of wild beasts, combats of gladiators, and naval engagements†.

* * * *

The only merit of Carinus that history could record, was the un-

† Gibbon, Ch. XI.

common splendour with which, in his own and his brother's name, he exhibited the Roman games of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre. If we confine ourselves solely to the hunting of wild beasts, however we may censure the variety of the design, or the cruelty of the execution, we are obliged to confess that neither before nor since the time of the Romans, so much art and expense have ever been lavished for the amusement of the people†.

* * * *

By the order of Probus, a great number of large trees, torn up by the roots, were transplanted into the midst of the circus. The spacious and shady forest was immediately filled with a thousand ostriches, a thousand stags, a thousand fallow-deer, and a thousand wild-boars; and all this variety of game was abandoned to the riotous impetuosity of the multitude. The tragedy of the succeeding day consisted in the massacre of a hundred lions, and an equal number of lionesses, (the whole of which, entering the amphitheatre at once, made a roaring like thunder), two hundred leopards, and three hundred bears‡.

* * * *

The year that Gordian the First was ædile, he entertained the people of Rome, at his own expense, each month, or twelve times, with public

† Gibbon, Ch. XII. Britain was one of the governments under Carinus, with the full power of Emperor, during his father's absence in the East. Augustan History, Carinus.

‡ These games were to celebrate the conquests of Probus in Germany, and over the Africans, between Upper Egypt and the Red Sea. Augustan History, Vol. II. p. 295.

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shows. He had a hundred wild beasts of Africa hunted in one day. On another day *a thousand bears* †; his sixth day is very memorable. There were two hundred stout stags, hunted by *Britons;* thirty wild horses, one hundred wild sheep, ten elks, a hundred Cyprian bulls, three hundred red Barbary ostriches, thirty wild asses, one hundred and fifty boars, two hundred wild goats, and two hundred deer. All these he gave in one day to be hunted, taken, and divided among the people ‡.

* * * *

At the decennial games, instituted by Gallienus the First, he went to the capital in a procession of the senators in their robes, the soldiers clad in white, the people, many slaves, and the women holding wax tapers and lamps. They were preceded by a hundred white oxen, yoked two and two, with their horns gilt, and covered with silken clothes of divers colours; a hundred pure white lambs, two and two; ten elephants, twelve hundred gladiators dressed in cloth embroidered with gold, such as ladies wear; two hundred tamed wild beasts, of several kinds, finely adorned; with players, mimics, and pugilists. Gallienus, in a triumphal gown and tunick, was accompanied by all the priests in their robes. There were five hundred spears of gold borne on each side: standards, arms and ensigns of the temples, and all the legions §.

* * * *

† Collections of bones of bears have been found in Germany, at Gailenreuth, &c. Bears were bred in former times, both for food and sport. A very few shows, such as this of Gordian's, would produce an immense collection of bones: and as the Romans had bears from *Numidia*, (see Beloe's Herodotus, Melpomene, CXCI. and note 188), they might be of a species unknown to modern naturalists. See also Dion Cassius, "Heliogabalus."

‡ Augustan Hist. Vol. II. p. 38.

§ Augustan Hist. Vol. II. p. 117.

The collection prepared for the younger Gordian and his triumph, and which his successors exhibited in the secular games, was no less remarkable by the number than by the singularity of the animals. Twenty zebras displayed their elegant forms and variegated beauty to the eyes of the Roman people. Ten elks, and as many camelopards, the most harmless creatures that wander over the plains of Sarmatia and Ethiopia; were contrasted with thirty African hyænas and ten Indian tigers, the most implacable savages of the torrid zone†. The unoffending strength with which nature has endowed the greater quadrupeds, was admired in the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus of the Nile, and a majestic troop of thirty-two elephants‡.

* * * *

Gratian enclosed large parks in Gaul, one was at Paris; all of them plentifully stocked with wild beasts, where he hunted and slew them§.

* * * *

Since the first introduction of wild beasts into the circus, to the reign of Gratian, is six hundred and thirty-four years. After this period these expensive amusements were probably discontinued, the Goths having invaded the empire. A more diligent search might, notwithstanding the poverty of history on such subjects, produce an ac-

† Tigers were at this time procured from India, by ships from the Red Sea, or the Persian Gulf. Firmus, who assumed the purple, and kept possession of part of Zenobia's country, sent oftentimes ships of merchandise into India. Bernard, Vol. II. p. 304.

‡ Gibbon, Ch. XII. and Bernard, Vol. II. pp. 71, 295. (About A.D. 280.)

§ Gibbon, Ch. XXVII.—A.D. 383.

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count of much greater numbers of quadrupeds and other animals, but the reader will probably think that the number here presented is much more than sufficient for the object of these researches. The following is a list of such animals slain in the games and sacrifices, by the Romans, as can be ascertained; though there may have been many others, as no country was neglected, and no expense spared to procure the most rare and curious animals, for many centuries.

* *Asses,* wild—Bears—Bisontes—Boars—Buffaloes—*Bulls,* and foreign ones—Camels—Camelopards—Crocodiles—*Crocotta,* an animal between a dog and a wolf. Pliny, B. VIII. Ch. XLI.—*Crocuta,* an animal between a hyæna and a lioness. Pliny, B. VIII. Ch. XXX. *Dragons,* (little ones) from Egypt by Heliogabalus. It is not easy to conjecture what this may have been. The long necked creature named Plesiosaurus, is perhaps the nearest resemblance to so uncertain a name.—*Deer* of all kinds—*Domestic* animals of all kinds, Oxen, Sheep, Birds, &c.—Elephants—Elks—*Hares*—Hippopotamuses—*Horses*—Hyænas—Leopards—Lions—Lynxes—*Orixes,* or Oryges, with one horn—Ostriches—*Indian Oxen*—Panthers—Rhinoceroses—Stags—Tigers—*Turtles.* (Augustus had a river turtle, from India, three cubits long.) Zebras; and probably Quaggas, by Severus.

Besides this list of animals, named by the Romans as having been exhibited, remains of others not noticed, as far as these researches go, have been found—the beaver, tapir, and mastodon, (probably by the Romans called elephant): and they are known to have exhibited some animals, the bones of which have not been detected, as far as the writer's knowledge extends—the camelopard, zebra, ostrich—nor has there ever occurred in this research, a single instance of the mention

* Those in Italics are not represented in the engraving of the circus; nor is the Irish elk.

of camels' bones being found, of which there must be vast numbers in Siberia, and some in Europe: this is a very remarkable fact, and may account for many bones, which have puzzled those who found them, or have been supposed to belong to other large quadrupeds.

REMARKS ON THE UNICORN.

The oryx of Pliny is said to be an antelope with two horns, slender, straight, and three feet long. See Buffon and Rees's Cyc. "Pasan."

In all ages, and all countries, the *unicorn* is mentioned. Timur killed rhinoceroses *and* unicorns, on the frontiers of Cashmere. Vide Chap. IV. of this volume. Can these assertions arise from antelopes, or other animals, sometimes shedding one horn before the other? If they ever do so, they may have often been seen without having been killed; and the sportsman not having an opportunity to examine them, thus some of the reports might arise.

Ptolemy's carriages, according to Athenæus, were drawn by orixes, with *one horn.* There have lately been reports of a kind of deer with one horn having been seen in Napaul, but there is no confirmation of the truth of these rumours. Mr. Bell, Journey to Pekin, Chapter II. says that a hunter in Siberia, near the Irtish, *(which is due north of Napaul)* told him, and that his story was confirmed by several of his neighbours, that in March, 1713, being out hunting, he discovered the track of a stag, which he pursued and overtook, when he was startled by perceiving that it had only one horn, stuck in the middle of its forehead. He killed it, and shewed it, being near his village, to the great admiration of the spectators. He ate the flesh, and sold the horn to a comb maker, in the town of Tara, for ten alteens, about fifteen pence sterling. I made careful enquiries, says Mr. B. about this unicorn—he

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told me that it exactly resembled a stag, and that the horn was, of a brownish colour, about one arsheen (or twenty-eight inches) long, and twisted from the root, till within a finger's length of the top, where it was divided like a fork into two points, very sharp.

Heliogabalus (Montfaucon, IV. 125), as well as Ptolemy, was drawn by oryges with one horn. The pasan is too small for the purpose of drawing a carriage.

As the Romans and Egyptians, for their processions and spectacles, left no part of Africa and Asia unexplored, and gave extravagant prices for curious animals, it is not impossible, but the unicorn may yet be found. It is not confounded with the rhinoceros in the above accounts, that animal being also mentioned in them.

Aristotle also classes the oryx as having *one* horn. Oppian describes it as a fierce animal.—See notes to Herodotus, Melpomene, CXCII. A Mahomedan prince is said to have sent two unicorns to Mecca, in the year 1799, from Africa. Rees's Cyc. "Monoceros."

A very interesting dissertation, with a drawing on this subject, in Barrow's Travels in Africa, Vol. I. p. 311 to 320, leaves scarcely a doubt of the existence of animals with one horn, and *in size and shape like a horse*. The countries reported to contain the unicorn are those which are least known. In Africa from South Lat. 30° to North Lat. 10° or two thousand seven hundred and eighty British miles in length, and two thousand miles in breadth at the equator, a space more considerable than all Europe, is to moderns utterly unknown. See also the vast countries between Hindostan and Siberia, which are equally unvisited by any intelligent European. With respect to Africa, the Romans were acquainted with the interior as far as latitude 14° *south*. "Comme aujourd'hui on connoit assez bien les côtes de l'Afrique, et très-mal l'intérieur, les anciens connoissoient assez bien l'intérieur et très-mal les côtes."—(Esprit des Lois, Liv. XXI. Ch. X.) See

also Ptolemy, Lib. I. Ch. VII. VIII. & IX. Tab. IV. See the ancient coin found in Herefordshire, in Chap. XIII. Plate 1, of this Vol. Does not this assist in proving that such an animal was known? The wings on the man's shoulders rather weaken that conjecture, but are not decisive against it. The shapes of the tail and breast of the unicorn, are a presumption that it is a portrait. The legend on this coin VLATOS ATEVLA, are words not in the Latin dictionary; and Camden could not explain them. The coin appears to be like the British money of the first century, and the same legend is found on other coins, with a horse and some other animals. Banduri conjectures that Atevla means Attila: but this is not probable. Perhaps some one well acquainted with the Greek, may be able to afford an elucidation, if the legend, although the characters are Roman, be derived from that language.

A British officer reported, in July, 1825, that he saw an unicorn in the thick woods of Aracan. Vincent Le Blanc relates (see Ch. VII. of this Vol.) that there are unicorns *and* rhinoceroses in Siam, and that in the queen's park at Pegu there is an unicorn called Drougala, and the head of another, with the horn in the middle of the upper part of the forehead, set fast upon a fountain. Le Blanc mentions their being remarkably timid. In addition to all these probabilities, there were among the remains of the animals found at Cadstadt near Stutgard, "beaucoup d'os de rhinoceros, d'hyænas et d'animaux du genre du cheval." As Ptolemy Philadelphus possessed so many of these animals, the probability is that they exist in Africa, in those vast regions undiscovered by modern Europeans. This conjecture is much strengthened, by the resemblance of this animal on the coin to that in Mr. Barrow's Travels.

CHAPTER XII.

Remains of Elephants and Wild Beasts found in Italy——France ——Sicily——Spain——Germany; and other Countries.

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MOST of the following extracts of the places, where bones have been found, in Europe, are from the Baron Cuvier's great work.

IN ITALY.

At *Rome*, in the valley of the Tiber, great numbers of fossil bones of elephants and various wild beasts were found.

Note.—At Rome there were amphitheatres; and one at Fidene, on the banks of the Tiber, a few miles distant from Rome. By the sudden fall of this amphitheatre, fifty thousand persons were killed or hurt.

At *Verona*, three leagues distant, many bones of elephants and other animals.

Note.—At Verona there was an amphitheatre; and it is shewn, in Ch. X. that animals were generally kept at some distance from cities.

At *Puzzuoli*, remains of elephants.

Note.—There was an amphitheatre at Puzzuoli.

At *Pisa,* remains of elephants.

Note.—Pisa was an important municipium, and, we may suppose, had its amphitheatre.

At *Orvieto,* remains of elephants.

Note.—The amphitheatre at Otriculi is near Orvieto.

At *Ancona,* remains of elephants,

Note.—Ancona is about twelve miles from Sena (now Sengaglia.) "Both the Roman army commanded by Nero, and the Carthaginian army under the command of Asdrubal, who had elephants, encamped *near* Sena."—Catrou, III. p. 415.

At *Metauro,* remains of elephants.

Note.—The Consul, Claudius Nero, at the battle of the Metaurus, defeated Asdrubal. He captured four elephants; and six were killed by the Carthaginians, being quite ungovernable, and creating much confusion.—Livy, B. XXVII. Ch. XLVIII. Catrou, III. 416.

Near *Turin,* elephants' bones.

Note.—Hannibal besieged and took Turin, on his descent from the Alps.—Catrou, Vol. III. p. 68.

Piedmont: in the province of Asti, two skeletons of elephants.

Note.—Hannibal marched from Turin by Chivas, north of the Po. It is not said whereabouts the bones were found, but the province of Asti commences close to Turin. See the map in Ch. IX.

At *Plaisance,* distant nine miles, and two from the Trebia, a fossil elephant.

"If ever there was a fossil elephant, which might be considered as one of Hannibal's, it is that found two miles from the Trebia, and nine above Plaisance; but, as if to contradict these conjectures, the head of a rhinoceros was found near it."—Cuvier, p. 94.

Note.—Asdrubal besieged Placentia, twelve years after Hannibal had been there.—Catrou, III. p. 411. There was an amphitheatre (the

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largest in Italy, Rees's Encyc.) at Placentia, which may account for the rhinoceros.

Little *Mount St. Bernard;* at the foot of the mountain, all the bones of an elephant were dug up.

Note.—Hannibal crossed the Alps over the little St. Bernard; and, twelve years afterwards, Asdrubal passed over the same route. Histoire du passage d'Annibal, d'après Polybe par A. J. De Luc: also, Catrou, Vol. III. p. 65, and the notes, by Father Rouillé.—See the map of Hannibal's march, in Chap. IX.

Near *Florence* parts of the skeletons of at least a hundred hippopotami, mixed in great abundance with the remains of elephant and rhinoceros, with those of horses, oxen, deer, hyæna, bear, tiger, wolf, mastodon, hog, tapir, and beaver.—Quarterly Review, LVII. p. 153.

Note.—To what possible origin can these be attributed but an amphitheatre, which there undoubtedly must have been at Florence, and probably at Fæsula? Two or three hundred years would produce all these hippopotami, which were to be had from the Roman province of Egypt, without much difficulty. Many of their bones are found near a hollow or valley, similar to that at Kirkdale, and which might easily be converted into a lake for the hippopotami.

In the *Upper Val d'Arno,* great numbers of elephants' bones.

At *Figlene,* upon the Arno, great numbers, mixed with bones of the rhinoceros.

Note.—" To the classical tourist, the road from Incisa (not far from Figlene) to Levane, presents the site where Hannibal halted his army, previous to an engagement at Thrasymenus, with the Roman legions under the Consul Flaminius. The fossil bones of elephants have been found there, and are considered to be the remains of those animals slain in the engagement: but it is probable that they are the remnant of some conflict of the elements."—Lady Morgan's Italy, Vol. II.

p. 144. See the description of Hannibal's march in Ch. IX. and the remarks.

At *Cortona* and at *Perugia* some elephants' bones.

Note.—Cortona is about five miles on the north, and Perugia about six on the east side of the lake Thrasymenus. The last elephant may have died of fatigue, or have been killed in the battle, at one of those places. See Ch. IX.

The *Val de Chiano,* bones of the elephant.

Note.—The Val de Chiano is about forty miles north of Rome. There is an amphitheatre at Otriculi, which is in the neighbourhood of the Val de Chiano.

At *Lake Lamporecci,* some bones of the elephant.

Note.—Not found on the map, nor in gazetteers.

At *Val de Nievole,* numbers of elephants' bones.

Note.—Not found.

Near *Benevento* and at *Avellino,* elephants' remains.

Note.—Avellino is twelve miles from Benevento. There were eight elephants captured, at the terrible battle of the Taurasian fields, near Beneventum, by Curius, who defeated Pyrrhus. Four died, and four were led in triumph at Rome.—Catrou, II. 483.

At *Bologna,* elephants' remains.

Note.—Bologna was a colony and a municipium, and therefore had, probably, an amphitheatre. It is on the road from Placentia, from which place Asdrubal, with his elephants, marched to Sena.—Catrou, III. 415.

In *Tuscany,* hippopotamus' and rhinoceros' bones mixed.

Note.—Florence was built by Sylla, and must have had an amphitheatre, and also Pisa. No one can doubt this after reading the chapter on amphitheatres.

At *Cozence,* in Calabria, elephants' bones.

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Note.—Hannibal was encamped at Croton in further Calabria, where he beat Sempronius in a second battle: the consul killed four thousand Carthaginians. *Cosentia* trembled at the consul's approach, and surrendered at discretion. Livy, B. XXIX. Ch. XXXVI. Catrou, III. 501. Hannibal was about twelve years in Italy, and was kept constantly supplied with great numbers of elephants, by way of the gulph of Taranto. The fossil bones are few indeed compared with the vast number of elephants killed in the wars and amphitheatres; especially when it is considered, that one animal produces a cart load of bones, and eight grinders. Hannibal lived generally at Capua; and, south of that city, many fossil bones of elephants must have been buried by the frequent earthquakes in Italy.

IN FRANCE.

At *Paris*, remains of the elephant, ox, *rein-deer*, and other fossil bones have been found, and, near them, trunks of trees.

Note.—Gratian, Emperor of the West, brother of Theodosius the Great, made large parks in several places in Gaul, and one at Paris; all of which were plentifully stocked with wild beasts. He was amusing himself in slaughtering lions and *bears* in his park at Paris, with his *Scythian* hunting friends from the Volga, when the British Emperor, Maximus, invaded Gaul; and Gratian was driven away.—See the chapter on Britain in this volume. The trees and the rein-deer prove, apparently, that this was the very park alluded to. Have the remains of *white* bears been found? The *amphitheatre* at Paris was on the south of the present university.—See Gibbon, Ch. XIX.

At *Serre St. Antoine, St. Valier, Lavoute*, (Dep. of Ardeche); at *Tain*, diocese of Vienne, remains of elephants.

Note.—These five places are all near the banks of the Rhone, on the march where Hannibal passed with thirty-seven elephants, and Asdrubal with a number not known: he arrived in Italy with fifteen—See the map of Hannibal's march.

At *Montrecaut*, elephants' remains.

Note.—I cannot find any name thus spelt; *Montregaut* is a few leagues north-east of Tain: if this be the right place, it is also on the route of the Carthaginians.

At *Montpelier*, elephants' remains.

Note.—Hannibal and Asdrubal passed through Montpelier: and the amphitheatres at Nismes and Arles are not far from it.

At *Plaine de Grenelle*, remains of the elephant.

Note.—This is not in the Gazetteer, except it be the place on the coast of Provence, called Grenelle. "A victory was gained by Cæsar, in a battle with the Gauls, by a single elephant.—Polyænus, B. VIII.

IN SICILY.

Remains of elephants have been found at *Palermo*, and at *Messina*.

Note.—At the great victory obtained by Metellus, over the Carthaginians, commanded by an officer named Asdrubal, at Panormus, (Palermo), many elephants were killed; and more than a hundred were captured. They were sent across the straits of Messina to Rhegium.—Catrou, Vol. II. p. 591.

At *Syracuse*, elephants' bones have been found.

Note.—At Syracuse there was an amphitheatre, another at Catania, and one at Agrigentum. The Carthaginians possessed great part of Sicily.

IN SPAIN.

At the bridge of *Toledo,* and at the bridge of *Manzanares,* remains of elephants have been found.

Note.—Althea, near Toledo, was taken by assault by Hannibal. He also gained a great victory on the banks of the Tagus, the waters of which were red with blood, over the Carpetani, whose capital was Toledo. A number of Spaniards were trodden to death by his elephants, of which he had forty.—Pliny. Polybius, B. III. Ch. XIV. Livy, B. XXI. Ch. V. Catrou, Vol. IV. pp. 40, 47.

Asdrubal, who had numerous elephants, destroyed the country of the Carpetani with fire and sword. Madrid is on the Manzanares, and is said to be the antient Mantua Carpetanorum.—Livy, B. XXIV. Ch. XLII. Rees Cyc. "Madrid." Two years or less afterwards, when Asdrubal was defeated by the two Scipios at Munda in Granada, *thirty-nine* of his elephants were slain.

There are the remains of an amphitheatre at Seville.

SWITZERLAND—GERMANY, &c.

Remains of elephants have been found in the *Swiss valleys,* near the Rhine, at *Geneva* and at *Lucerne**.

* A consul, an ancestor of Nero, having conquered the Allobroges and the Averni, made a tour of the province mounted upon an elephant, with a body of soldiers attending him, in a sort of triumphal pomp.—Suetonius, "Nero." Ch. II. Geneva, was the Colonia Allobrogum.—See Map of Hannibal's march.

In the *great valley of the Rhine* many bones of elephants, some at *Cleves* (with rhinoceros' bones) and some at *Zutphen**.

In the environs of *Strasburg* some fossil elephants' bones†.

In *Thuringia,* Com. of Burgtouna, bones of elephants, rhinoceroses, and stags, at great depths. Two elephants at the depth of fifty feet, and at a little distance, in similar beds, "des bois du cerf, òu elan fossile." At *Balstadt,* a near village, rhinoceros' teeth.

Near *Heidelberg,* elephants' bones were found, and also at *Manheim, Wurtsburg,* and *Bamberg.* In the valley of *Kocher,* near Halle in Swabia, tusks and bones; near *Passau,* elephants' bones; and near *Aichsted,* with bones of the hyæna. At *Krembs* elephants' bones, and also "*le corps d'un mastodonte à dents etroites.*" At *Kayser-Steinbruck, Buggau,* and *Vag-Ugeli,* on the river Vag, in Hungary, elephants' bones. In several places of *Hungary* and *Transylvania,* some bones; generally in marshes. "Une tres grande machoire inferieure etoit un peu au dessus du retranchement des Romains, qui va de la Teiss au Danube, vis-a-vis Peterwaradin."

Note.—History is too imperfect to permit of tracing all these places. But the wars of Hadrian in Dacia; and the Roman troops sent by

* The Romans had a vast number of vessels always upon the Rhine. We find a thousand constructed at one time, (some large for engines of war), and ordered by Germanicus to meet at the isle of Batavia. The Batavians were defeated, and the countries to the Elbe were conquered. Some of the vessels were driven to Britain by a tempest, and sent back by the British King Cunobeline. Tacitus, An. II. May it be conjectured, that elephants were conveyed about this river for exhibitions; and for amphitheatres in the camps and towns, when there was such a rage for those sights? The amphitheatre at Treves may account for many of the bones, besides Colonia Agrippina, and Colonia Trajana, now Cologne and Kellen (near Cleves). Eight legions were kept constantly on the Rhine by Augustus, and four on the Danube.

† Julius Cæsar gained a victory at Strasburg, which Zosimus, p. 68, compares with that of Alexander over Darius. Sixty thousand were killed, and as many more drowned in the river.

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Antoninus Pius to Olbiopolis on the Dneiper, to act against the Scythians, prove that large armies went more to the East than any of the places where those fossil bones are found. The conquest of Dacia required a war of five years' duration.—See Julius Capitolinus in Bernard, Vol. I. p. 100. "Probus conquered all the country near the Euxine." Vopiscus in Bernard, Vol. II. p. 287. (See forward.)

Near *Wolfenbuttle*, a whole skeleton. At *Brunswick*, at the depth of twelve feet, one tusk, eleven feet long; one fourteen feet eight inches, curved in a half-circle*; with nine others, and at least thirty grinders, twenty-two of which are like other fossil molar teeth; mixed with bones of rhinoceroses, horses, oxen, and stags, in prodigious quantities.

At *Osterode*, a skeleton, with two bones of a rhinoceros. Near Steigerthal, (Hohenstein), four grinders; (also an under jaw of a hyæna, and, at the distance of a league, some bones of a rhinoceros). Between *Halle* (in Saxony) and Querfurt, many elephants' bones, some of which were found in a quarry of hard stone, apparently in a cleft ("fente"). At *Cassel*, and several places in Hesse, elephants' bones: at *Sodershausen*, elephants' bones much calcined. At *Potsdam*, elephants' bones: near Magdeburg, elephants' bones †.

In *Bohemia*, some elephants' bones in several places.

Note.—Marcus Aurelius waged war in person for about three years together against many nations who had confederated. The Emperor in person, and the principal officers, marched at the head of the troops: this war was very obstinate, and many of the nobility were killed. The nations were the Quadi, (by the Danube and the river Mark); Suevi, (between the Rhine and the Elbe); Sarmatæ, (very undefined, Poland,

* This curve is like that of the tusks of the Lena elephant. Mr. Adams saw a tusk at Yakoutsk, fifteen feet long (French).

† See the Note **, p. 349.

Russia, &c.); Latringes, (Livonia, Riga); Bursi, Victovali, Sosives, Sicobates, Roxalani; (the Ukraine); Bastarnæ, (Upper Hungary); Alani, (the countries by the Don and the Palus Mæotis); Costoborei, (this and several others are uncertain); Marcomanni, Narisei, (Bohemia and Moravia). This war was resumed, and was not finished at the Emperor's death.—Capitolinus in Aug. Hist. p. 132.

At *Seelberg*, (on the other side of the *Necker*), six hundred paces from Canstadt, at the depth of eighty feet, thirteen tusks, in general much curved, placed near each other, as if intentionally, and several separately; also a number of grinders, from two inches to one foot in length. Bones of the horse, stag, a number of rhinoceros' teeth; others supposed to be of the bear, and one *attributed* to the tapir. Near the walls of *Canstadt*, a skeleton and two tusks.

At *Canstadt*, (three miles from Stutgard), in the year 1700, a vast collection of bones was found, none at a greater depth than twenty feet. " Sans aucun ordre, en grande partie brisés; quelquesuns roulés, sans aucune proportion entre eux: des dents de chevaux par charettées, et pas des os pour la dixieme partie de ces dents*: plus de soixante defenses, une très courbée, de cinq et demi pieds, une autre de quatre et demi. Les os des elephans paroissent avoir été plus élevé, que la plupart des autres. Une partie etoit engagée dans une espece de roc, fermée par de l'argile, du sable, des cailleux et de l'ocre; agglutinés ensemble, et l'on fut obligé d'employer la poudre pour les avoir. Ces os sont accompagnés dans le cabinet, de beaucoup d'os de rhinoceros, d'hyæne, et d'animaux du genre du cheval †, du cerf, du bœuf,

* Horses, bulls, and other domestic animals, were slain in the amphitheatres. Montfaucon, Vol. III. Julius Cæsar exhibited a combat of forty elephants against five hundred horse and one thousand foot. Kennet, p. 268. Pliny, Nat. Hist. Lib. VIII. Ch. VII.

† Possibly the zebra, quagha or orix? which were at Rome not uncommon. Severus brought *horses* resembling tigers, from the Red Sea. Dion Cassius.

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du lièvre et petits carnassiers *. De très grandes epiphyses de vertèbres, pourroient faire soupçonner des cétases†. Il-y-a aussi quelques fragmens *humains*. Malheureusement, on n'a pas assez distingué les hauteurs différentes, où chaque os fut trouvé, pendant six mois que les fouilles durèrent, ni les os qui etoient dans le retranchement mentionné par Reisel, de ceux qu'on trouva hors de ses limites. On deterra, par example, aussi des morceaux de charbon et des fragments d'objets fabriqués par l'homme, comme des vases, &c. qui assurément n'avoient pas été deposés en meme temps que les grands os ‡. Reisel dit qu'il y avoit des débris d'un ancien mur, épais de huit pieds et de quatre vingts *de tour*, qui paroit avoir été l'enceinte d'un fort ou d'un temple; et l'on voit en effet encore quelques restes §. Aussi Spleiss conclut-il que ces os etoient ceux des animaux qu'on sacrifioit; mais ils etoit pour la plupart bien plus profondement que les fondations de ce mur: d'ailleurs l'on en trouve encore plus près du Necker, dans un sol naturel, et tout semblable à celui où on les deterra.

Tout ce qu'on pourroit conclure de leur abondance dans cette enceinte, c'est qu'ils avoient deja été une fois deterrés et rassemblés à cet endroit par quelque curieux.

M. Autenrieth a trouvé dans le voisinage une foret entière de tronc || de palmiers couchés.

* Sometimes three hundred oxen were sacrificed. Livy, B. XXII. Ch. X. Hares and deer.—Kennet, p. 276. Swine, sheep, eagles, lions, a hundred at a time.—Bernard, Vol. II. p. 85.

† Bones of whales and other sea animals were sometimes exhibited. By Augustus.—See Suetonius, Ch. LXXII. By Scaurus.—See Catrou, Vol. VI. p. 96.

‡ Sacrifices and games were common for a great many centuries.

§ Sacrificial Temples were round. Kennet, p. 84.

|| These trunks of trees are very probably the wrecks of an amphitheatre, see Chap. X. The vases assist in proving a Roman origin.

*Note.***—The Emperor Probus, after slaying near four hundred thousand of the barbarians, (and the entire submission of nine kingdoms), drove the rest beyond the rivers Elbe and the Necker. He took as much booty from them, as they had taken from the Romans; besides which, he planted Roman colonies and garrisons on the barbarian soil, and placed his soldiers upon them.—Bernard, Vol. II. p. 289, from Flavius Vopiscus. The great stone wall which Probus caused to be built by the Roman legions reached from the neighbourhood of Newstadt and Ratisbon on the Danube, across hills, vallies, rivers, and morasses, as far as Wimpfen on the *Necker*, and at length terminated on the banks of the Rhine, after a winding course of near two hundred miles.—See Gibbon, Ch. XII. As Probus had been much in Egypt, and possessed such vast numbers of wild beasts, (see Ch. XI.) there can be little doubt but that the troops, during this labour, and especially on the fulfilment of their arduous task, were indulged with the combats of beasts, and other amusements, which were usual in the camps: and that the reduced kings and their subjects would be conciliated by the like means. Probus transplanted a great number of *Vandals* into Thrace.—Augustan Hist. Vol. II. 293. He also sent some Vandals to Britain, who, it is supposed, settled near Cambridge, and from whom a village was named Vandalsburg. See Rees's Cyc. "Vandals." The history or life of Probus is exceedingly imperfect, having been lost; and there remains little more than has been preserved in the Augustan History, by Flavius Vopiscus, which see, p. 273.

In *Poland* a few bones have been found.

Note.—There is perhaps not a place mentioned where bones have been found, that was not visited by large Roman armies, and most of them even by Emperors. Trajan twice invaded Dacia, and the wars were long and difficult: he made it a province of the empire, and plant-

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ed it with Roman colonies. On his return to Rome, the spectacles lasted for months: eleven thousand various beasts were slain; and ten thousand gladiators combated.—Augustan History, Vol. I. p. 20. On the other occasion of his return from Dacia, a medal was struck to celebrate his victory, upon which is represented a chariot drawn by four elephants.—Haym. Vol. II. p. 206. Augustus, partly in person, and partly by his lieutenants, conquered Pannonia, (Hungary). He put a stop to the inroads of the Dacians, (Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia), by cutting off three of their generals with vast armies. He drove the Germans beyond the Elbe.—Suetonius, "Aug." XXI. Domitian invaded Germany, Poland, and Dacia. If bones of elephants, and such wild beasts as were slain in the Roman games, are found in any places, not known to be mentioned as having been frequented by the Romans, can the same cause for their existence, in such places, be doubted? May not some of those countries have adopted the like sports by purchasing beasts?

In Ostrobothnie, a grinder. At Falkenburg, in Halland, two bones. In Iceland, a petrified grinder *. Pontoppidan mentions, from Torfœus, a prodigious skull and tooth.

* Such instances of bones, which may have been conveyed by travellers, as curiosities, cannot be supposed to affect the general question.—The late periods of the conquests in the above countries have been selected in preference to those of Cæsar and others, in consequence of the Romans having subdued Egypt, and then possessing such numbers of wild beasts.—All the elephants and wild beasts, shown from the earliest times as curiosities, must have produced many of the remains of single animals, which have been found.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sketch of the History of Roman Britain, ending A. D. 427.—— Julius Cæsar.——Claudius.—— Elephants.——Britain is visited by many Emperors. ——York, the Head Quarters of the Roman Empire for three years.—— Mines.——Wealth.—— Temples.—— Baths.—— Amphitheatres. —— British Emperors.——Carausius; his powerful fleet; he sails to Africa.—— Conquest of Gaul and Spain by Maximus; he passes the Alps. ——Invasion of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, by Constantine.—— Sudden ruin and destruction of Colonies, Towns, Temples, and Palaces.

BRITAIN, to any one who is searching for truth, or real history, furnishes no materials which are worthy to occupy his time or attention, until that island attracted the notice of the Romans: and even then, for nearly a century, we are confined to the picture which Cæsar has drawn in his Commentaries. Rude as is his description of the Britons, he failed with his immense army to subdue them. The intercourse which this event caused between Britain and Italy, appears to have had a favourable effect on the savage manners and customs of the natives.

The residence of Agricola may be considered as the foundation of

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a rapid approach to a degree of civilization, and even grandeur, seldom granted to their own island, in those ages, by the generality of the English in modern times.

The invasion by Cæsar is described in so many books, that it will be merely glanced at in this chapter, in order to dwell at greater length on that part of history, which is more to the purpose of this essay; and much less known to most readers.

* * * *

From the first invasion of Britain, by Julius Cæsar, about fifty-four years before Christ, to the abandoning of the island, is four hundred and eighty-one years. Of this number there are no less than three hundred and twenty years in which Britain is not noticed by any known author*. In the rest of that long period, war is almost the only topic which engages the attention of the Romans, when Britain is mentioned.

The manners and customs of the Britons, and of the resident Romans, while the island was under their domination, can only be known by the few incidental remarks that can be collected, and the very numerous vestiges which have been discovered and described by Antiquarians.

Cæsar invaded Britain two successive years; the first time with two, and the second, with five legions†, and about two thousand cavalry, in eight hundred vessels. On the approach of the Romans to the

* Horsley, Britannia Romana. Chronological table.

† A legion, without auxiliaries, was about six thousand foot, and with auxiliaries, double the number. The auxiliaries were levies from the conquered countries. In the reigns of Dioclesian and Maximian a legion consisted of six thousand six hundred and sixty-six. Bernard, Vol. II. p. 348.

Thames, which they meant to cross, (at Oatlands), Cassivelaunus, with his army of Britons, were there to dispute the passage, which was fortified with sharp stakes. Cæsar ordered the cavalry to ride into the water, and the foot to follow: the ford was about five feet deep. Cæsar had with him a vastly large elephant, covered with an iron coat of mail, bearing a large turret upon his back, filled with bow-men and slingers. The cavalry and foot attacked the army with vigour*. At the approach of the elephant, the Britons, with their horse and chariots, dismayed at the sight of such a monstrous beast, fled; and the rest of the Romans crossed without opposition†.

The many *advantages* gained by the Romans, according to their commander's Commentaries, ended in a treaty, by which the Britons engaged to pay a moderate tribute: and they gave hostages for the performance of their engagement. Cæsar departed with his whole army; and, "on his return to Rome, *as if from a glorious enterprise,* he offered to Venus, the patroness of his family, a corslet of British pearls‡."

Augustus, according to Dion Cassius, set out for the conquest of the island, but the Britons sued for peace, and obtained it while he was in Gaul. There are British coins with the head of Augustus, and the word, tascia, and several with that word and the head of Cunobeline: it is therefore highly probable that tribute was paid, and that

* Cæsar's Commentaries.

† Polyænus's Stratagems, B. VIII. Neither Cæsar nor any Roman has had the candour to mention this *stratagem.*

‡ Milton, Historical Works, Vol. II. p. 19, from Pliny. Suetonius, Ch. XLVII. says, "they report that Cæsar invaded Britain, in hopes of finding pearls, the bigness of which he would compare together, and examine the weight by poising them in his hand." "The British pearls, however, proved of little value, on account of their dark and livid colour." Gibbon, Ch. I. Note 6.

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Horace alludes to that circumstance *. In the reign of Tiberius, some ships belonging to Germanicus were, in a furious storm, driven to Britain, and were sent back by Cunobeline †. The mariners, on their re-

* "On earth a present god shall Cæsar reign,
Since world-divided Britain owns his sway."
Francis's Horace, B. III. Ode V.
Milton, in his History, denies that tribute was paid. See Camden, Vol. I. p. lxviii.

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† DESCRIPTION OF PLATE I.

(COINS OF ANCIENT BRITISH KINGS.)

No.

1. *Cunobeline.* The Reverse represents coining. (This coin was found at St. Albans.) He was king of the Trinobantes, and resided at Camelodunum (Colchester). He died about A. D. 41.
2 *The same.*—Reverse, Apollo. (Found at St. Albans).
3 *The same.*—Reverse, a horse. (Found at St. Albans). British horses were then much prized.
4 *The same.*—Reverse, Pegasus. (Found at Kingscote, Gloucestershire).
5 *Not known.*—Reverse, Verulam. (Found at St. Albans).
6 *Caractacus.* Son of Cunobeline. He was king of the Silures. His capital was Caerguent, in Monmouthshire. (Found at St. Albans).
6 A. *The same.* This small brass coin is a great curiosity, having a head of this renowned Briton. It is not well executed. The reverse, CARIC. shows that Carictacus was the proper way of spelling his name: it is from Tac - tus that the common spelling is derived. (In the possession of the Earl of Winchelsea.) Haym. Vol. I. p. 145.
7 *Arviragus.* Son of Cunobeline. He is called the youngest son, by Shakespear. He was living and celebrated as a monarch of importance in the reign of Domitian, by Juvenal, Sat. IV. 127. (Found at Kingscote).
8 *Coin of Boadicea.* Queen of the Iceni, whose capital was Caster, (Norwich). The strange figure on the reverse has been conjectured to mean a horse worn out by hard labour. (Found at St. Albans).
9 *Not ascertained.* Reverse an elephant. (Found in Buckinghamshire). The head bears resemblance to Arviragus.
10. *Not known.* Reverse an unicorn. (Found in Herefordshire.) Camden could not explain the legend. He does not conjecture that it may be derived from the Greek. See Ch. XI. last note, on the Unicorn.

COINS of ANCIENT BRITISH KINGS.

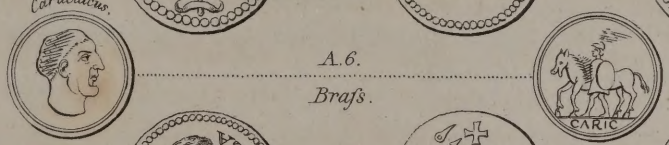
(See Description.)

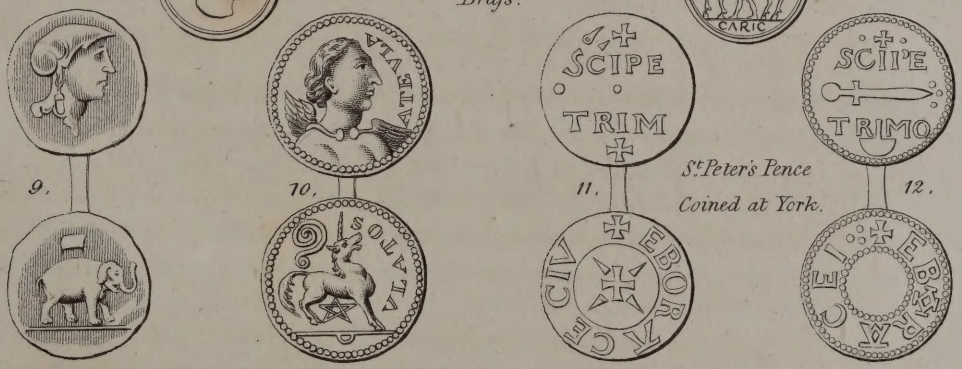
Caractacus. *Arviragus.* *Boadicea.*

Caractacus.

A.6.

Brass.



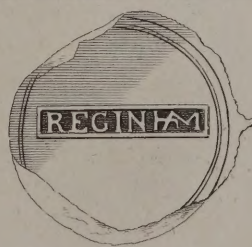


Caracalla's Ship.

A.12.

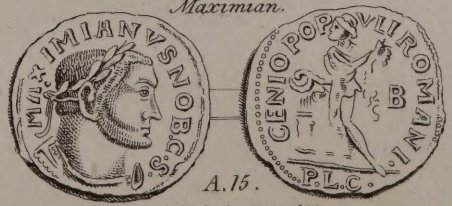
in an Amphitheatre.

Sacrificing Altar. A.13. — and —



Cup. A.14.

Maximian.



A.15.

Published April. 11. 1826.

J. Swaine Sc.

turn, recounted wonders, uncommon birds, and sea monsters of ambiguous forms between man and beast: strange sights, (says Tacitus, Annal. II.), or the effects of imagination and fear*.

Not any thing more material is known till Adminius, son of Cunobelinus, having incurred his father's displeasure, fled to Rome, and persuaded Caligula, (A. D. 40), to send an army for the conquest of Britain. A considerable force was collected on the coast of Belgic Gaul. While the army was embarking, Caligula went on board a galley, and was rowed towards Britain: but being told that the enemy were in force upon their coast, waiting the attack, he speedily returned, and harangued his army, as if the Britons were in view. The charge was sounded, and the troops, by their Emperor's command—

* These were not the first reports about frightful animals, probably seals.

"The ocean wild that roars,
With monster-bearing waves, round Britain's rocky shores."
Horace, B. IV. Ode XIV.

The words Tascio, Tascia, Tascie, are said to be derived from *Taxatio*, and mean tribute money. For further information, see Pegge's Essay; Camden's Britannia; and H. Moll's Description of England.

11 & 12 Are Saxon, (Sancti Petri Moneta,) coined at Eboracum.

2 A. The head Caracalla. The reverse represents a ship built in an amphitheatre at Rome; from which 400 wild beasts were let out at once. See notes on Severus in this Ch. and Ch. XI. The medal is in A. Morellius, 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1695. Specimen Universæ Rei Nummariæ, &c.

13 A. Two sides of an Altar for sacrificing, and the implements: it was found at Ribchester, near Preston; (where many curious Roman antiquities have been dug up).

14 A. The bottom of a broken sacrificing cup. (Found at Ribchester).

15 A. *Maximian.* This Emperor's history is imperfectly known. He had a triumph for exploits in Britain: and the Roman fleet commanded by him was overpowered by that of the British Emperor Carausius, off the Isle of Wight.

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filled their helmets with cockle-shells, and returned to Rome. This ridiculous tyrant wrote to the senate to decree him a triumph.

Cunobelinus, whose capital was Camelodunum, (Colchester), had, it is said, been brought up at the Court of Augustus *. At his death, his son Adminius, who had possessed regal power†, was in banishment: and he was succeeded by his other sons, Togodumnus and Caractacus; but it is not known if they were equal in power.

Bericus, a fugitive Briton, with some of his party, went to Rome, and persuaded Claudius to invade the island ‡. The Britons demanded the fugitive, and prohibited intercourse with Rome §. The Emperor resolved on the conquest of the island.

The Roman soldiers, aware of the reception Julius Cæsar had met with, expressed their aversion to wage war at the extremity of the world, and refused to embark. This caused the Britons not to make the necessary preparations for their defence. The Roman troops were, however, brought to a sense of their duty; and, under the command of Aulus Plautius, Vespasian, (afterwards Emperor), and his brother Sabinus, four legions, with their auxiliaries, amounting to about fifty

A.D. 43. thousand troops, safely landed, without opposition ||.

Plautius first marched in quest of the two kings, and defeated them, one after the other. He then reduced part of Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire, (the Dobuni), and left a Roman garrison to keep them in awe. After this, his German soldiers swam across a river, surprised

* Milton, 8vo. edit. p. 62. See Shakespear, Cymbeline, Act III. Scene I.

"_____Thou art welcome, Caius,
Thy Cæsar knighted me: my youth I spent
Much under him; of him I gathered honour."

† See Medal 29, Plate 3.

‡ No further particulars are known about Bericus.

§ Suetonius, in Claudius, Ch. XVII. || Rapin, Vol. I. p. 25, Note 2.

the Britons, and, according to orders, fell on their horses which drew the war chariots. Another body of troops joining the Germans, the Britons were put to flight.

The next day the Britons fought the Romans with great bravery, on the banks of the Severn, it is supposed; and, after a conflict which was long doubtful, the Romans were victorious, and the Britons fled to the mouth of the Thames. They were closely pursued by the Romans, who, being unacquainted with the flats and shallows, were often in danger. The Germans, as before, swimming the river, and the Romans crossing by a bridge higher up, the Britons were surrounded, and great numbers of them were cut to pieces. Many of the Romans, too eager in the pursuit, were lost in the marshes. In one of these battles Togodumnus was killed.

The Britons were not disheartened, but were eager to revenge the death of their king; and Plautius, who was at one time thought to have been slain or captured, contented himself with placing garrisons in his conquests *.

"Plautius, fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he possessed, as was enjoined him, sends to Claudius. He, who waited ready with a huge preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the flower of his Romans, like a great eastern king, with armed elephants †, marches through Gallia (to Boulogne). So full of peril was this enterprise esteemed, as not without all this equipage, and stranger terrors than Roman armies, to meet naked and native British valour. Joined with Plautius, he crosses the Thames. The Britons scrupled not to affront, in open field, almost the whole force of the Roman Em-

* See Enc. Brit. "England." Milton, 8vo. edit. p. 64.

† The elephants of Claudius are never mentioned by the Romans as used in battle against the Britons. This studied silence is creditable rather to the islanders, than to their enemies.

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pire*." Claudius, being victorious, encamped at Camelodunum, the royal seat, with three legions. A large well-built town was immediately erected, with temples, theatres, &c.

Togodumnus being killed, it was at this period that Arviragus, another son of Cunobeline, is supposed to have been placed on the throne at Camelodunum †.

After six months' absence, the Emperor returned to Rome: he had been but sixteen days in Britain. The senate decreed him a triumph, and to him, and to his son, the surname of Britannicus. The public rejoicings lasted many days. Claudius presided in his general's cloak, and represented, in the field of Mars, the sacking of a town, and the surrender of the British kings ‡.

The Britons, having been left in possession of their goods, erected a temple to the Emperor at Camelodunum, and paid him divine honours.

Plautius, Vespasian, and his son Titus, (then a military tribune) carried on the war with great reputation. Vespasian, whom Claudius had associated in the direction of this conquest, captured some chiefs, gained near thirty battles in the southern provinces; and conquered the Isle of Wight. In one of the conflicts, Vespasian was surrounded, and in danger of being killed, but was valiantly rescued by Ti-

* Milton, Vol: II. p. 21.

† The beginning of the reign of Claudius being a part of Tacitus which is lost, has created uncertainty with respect to the period of Arviragus. Hector Boethius (an author of little reputation) relates that he was placed on the throne by Claudius. Shakespear, in his play of Cymbeline, (spelt Kymbeline by Milton in his History), calls him the youngest son of Cunobeline. Juvenal, Sat. IV. 127, proves that he was living in Domitian's reign. Claudius invaded the island in the year 43. Domitian began his reign in the year 81. Therefore the above account of him is possibly the truth, but cannot be depended on.—See Camden; and Dr. Pegge, p. 78.

‡ Suetonius, Ch. XXI.

tus *. Great dignities and honours were granted to Vespasian, at Rome, for his victories †.

On the return of Plautius to Italy, the Emperor met him without the gate of Rome, and in his carriage gave him the right hand seat, as they entered, in token of his high applause: an ovation also was granted to this meritorious officer, who had, among his other exploits, gained a victory over Caractacus. A.D. 47.

Ostorius Scapula succeeded Plautius as proprætor, (A. D. 50.)—He found Britain in great combustion and uproar. Since a peace made by restraint, is never sincere, and could not insure repose, he determined to deprive of their arms all those whom he suspected, and to confine them between the rivers Avon and Severn: a determination at first thwarted by the Icenians, a powerful people, who had of their own accord confederated with the Romans, and who were not weakened by the assaults of war: the bordering nations joined them, and an army was formed.

The place they chose was defended by a ditch, and the approach to it was not passable by cavalry. The Roman general, without the support of the legions, ranged his cohorts, dismounted the horse, forced the ditch, and broke the enemy, who performed many feats of bravery. Marcus Ostorius, the general's son, having, in this battle, saved the life of a Roman citizen, acquired the civic crown. The overthrow of the Icenians calmed those unsettled spirits, who were before wavering between peace and war, says Tacitus, and the Ro-

* Dion Cassius, "Claudius."

† O thou, to whom the unfrequented sea
Reserved the honour of discovery!
When Caledonia's waves thy vessel bore,
Those waves that Phrygia's race disdain'd before.
Valerius Flaccus to Vespasian. Camden, Vol. I. p. xli.

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mans were led against the Cangians, (Cheshire and Lancashire), whose territories were ravaged.

The Roman army having reached the shore opposite Ireland, the general was informed that commotions had begun among the Brigantes, and he returned thither. A few who had raised the revolt were executed, and the rest were pardoned: but no rigour or mercy could reclaim the Silures, (South Wales), who were to be reduced only by the legions. To facilitate this design, a colony, powerful in the number of veterans, was conveyed to Camelodunum, to inure their allies to the Roman laws and jurisdiction. To the British king Cogidunus certain communities were given: a prince who very long remained faithful to the Romans.

From Camelodunum the Roman army marched against the Silures, a people resolute and fierce by nature; and, moreover, confiding in the valour of Caractacus *, renowned for disasters, and surpassing all the other British commanders. In the advantages and situation of the country he was more expert than the Romans, and therefore translated the seat of war into the territory of the Ordovices, (North Wales): and being joined by those who feared an unequal peace with their opponents, he ventured to try the decision of the sword.

He chose a place every way incommodious to the Romans †. It was on the ridges of steep mountains: and where the sides were approachable, he reared walls of stone as ramparts. At the foot of the mountain flowed a river, dangerous to be forded; and a host of men guarded his entrenchments. The leaders of the confederate nations were busy, from quarter to quarter, exhorting and animating their

* Caerguent in Monmouthshire, was his capital.

† Caer Caradoc, two miles south of Clun, and three from Coxal, in Shropshire. The ramparts are still visible, in the nineteenth century.

followers: Caractacus flew through the whole army and proclaimed "That from this battle they must date their liberty rescued; or their servitude eternally established." He invoked those of their ancestors who had exterminated Cæsar the Dictator; "men by whose valour they yet lived from tribute, and the Roman axes,—yet preserved from prostitution the persons of their children and wives." CHAP. XIII.

This loud alacrity of the Britons, amazed the Roman general. The river, the ramparts, the declivities, and the hosts of the enemy were terrible difficulties. But the soldiers and the tribunes were ardent for the attack. Thus animated, Ostorius led them on; and, without much difficulty, gained the opposite bank. In approaching the bulwark, while the encounter was with flights of darts, more of the Romans than of the Britons were wounded, and many began to fall: but after they had formed themselves into the testudo, or military shell, demolished the huge and shapeless structure of stones, and encountered hand to hand upon even ground, the barbarians, says Tacitus, betook themselves to the ridges of the mountains, and were pursued by the light and heavy armed Romans, who fought in close order, while the Britons only discharged their arrows; and, as they do not wear armour, their ranks were broken. Where they resisted the auxiliaries, they were slaughtered by the swords and javelins of the soldiers of the legions; and by the great sabres and pikes of the auxiliaries, where they faced those of the legions. Signal was this victory. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners and his brother surrendered to mercy *.

The British king, after nine years' opposition to the Romans, fled for protection to his stepmother, Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes†; but adversity, says the Roman historian, has no friends: she

* Tacitus, An. XII.

† Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, &c.

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loaded him with irons, and delivered him up to the conqueror: he, with his family, was sent to Rome. The Emperor was proud of his captive; and the curiosity of the Romans was eager to behold a hero whose fame had become celebrated even in Italy, from having so long withstood the Roman arms. At the solemn procession of the British captives into Rome, the military accoutrements, the golden chains and rich collars, which the king had gained in various battles, were displayed with pomp. All the prisoners descended to abject supplications, unworthy of their quality, says Tacitus, except Caractacus, who, with dignity and unshaken fortitude, addressed the tribunal, on the nobility of his birth, his former power, his actions, and his present fate. "If you are bent on vengeance," said he, "execute your purpose, and the bloody scene will soon be at an end. Preserve my life, and I shall remain a monument of Roman clemency." Claudius was charmed with the heroic boldness of his prisoner, and pardoned him and his family. The captives were all unbound, and submissively returned thanks to the Emperor, and his Empress Agrippina, who were seated in state, in the midst of the cohorts. When the senate was assembled, many and pompous encomiums were pronounced on the taking of Caractacus, as an event no less illustrious than the capture of Syphax by Publius Scipio, Perses by Lucius Paulus, or any other conquered kings, which the great captains had presented to the Roman people*.

* Caractacus was one of the sons of Cunobeline, whose family appears to have been the most powerful in Britain. Since the visit of Julius Cæsar, great progress had been made in civilization. Always shewing bravery, but not polished, the Britons do not appear to have had justice done them. How could Tacitus venture to compare this capture as equal in fame to those of the sovereigns of Africa and Macedon, if they were the *barbarians* that they are in general in English history represented to have been? Probably, most readers form their opinion of the Britons from the account of them in Cæsar's Commentaries, without taking into consideration the great change that was quickly effected by their intercourse with the

The triumphal ornaments were decreed to Ostorius. The brave British king, when conducted through Rome to survey its grandeur—"Why are you Romans," said he, "who live in such magnificence, so desirous to possess our country?"

The Romans, perhaps, thought that the capture of Caractacus had finished the war: but the Britons, burning for revenge at the loss of so great a king, by surprise assailed the camp-marshal and legionary cohorts left to raise fortresses in the country of the Silures; and, but for sudden succours from the circumjacent garrisons, "our troops" says Tacitus, "had been cut in pieces; as it was, the marshal himself and eight centurions were there slain, with the most resolute soldiers." Soon after, the foragers, and even the Roman troops sent to guard them, were entirely routed. Ostorius despatched to their relief some cohorts lightly armed, but they were not able to stay the flight, so that the legions were drawn out to restore the battle; which, by their strength, instantly became equal. The Britons fled; but, as the night approached, with slight loss. Frequent encounters continued in woods and morasses; sometimes by command of their officers, and often without their knowledge.

Of all others, the Silures were the most implacable: they were incensed by a saying of the Roman general, current amongst them, "that their name must be utterly extinguished, as was that of the Sugambrians, who had been partly cut off, and the rest transplanted into Gaul." Thus animated, they surprised and carried off two auxiliary cohorts, who were plundering the country to satiate the avarice

Romans. The term, Barbarians, was applied, by the Romans, to all nations except the Greeks; as it was by the Egyptians to all who did not speak their language. See Herodotus, Clio, Ch. I. Note 2; Euterpe, Ch. CLVIII. The subsequent fate of Caractacus is not known. See Plate I. Coin A 6. for a likeness of this celebrated person.

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of their officers; and the Britons by distributing the spoil and captives among the neighbouring nations, were drawing them also into the revolt, when Ostorius, sinking under the weight of his anxieties,

A. D.52. expired; to the great joy of the enemy, that so considerable a captain had perished in the war.

The Emperor Claudius immediately sent over Aulus Didius; but, before he could arrive, the legion commanded by Manlius Valens had suffered a defeat. Didius now attacked and repulsed the Britons. Their ablest warrior, since the capture of Caractacus, was Venusius, of the city of the Jugantes; a man long faithful to the Romans, and protected by their arms, during his marriage with Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes; but being divorced from her, and opposing her in war, he likewise began hostilities against the Romans. The queen having, by stratagem, possessed herself of the brother and other kindred of Venusius, he was exasperated; and, scorning the infamy of falling under the dominion of a woman, assembled all the ablest and most warlike youth, and invaded her territories. The Romans perceiving this, had sent some cohorts to the queen's aid; and, after a fierce battle, she was victorious. Didius, unwieldy with age, and satiated with honours, acted by his lieutenants; and the legion commanded by Cesius Nasica was successful against the Britons*.

The Emperor Claudius was poisoned, A. D. 54†.

Avitus had succeeded Aulus Didius. At this time the Romans suffered great loss in Britain; and Avitus could but just maintain his

A.D. 57. conquests. He was replaced by Veranius, who ravaged some part of the country of the Silures, but was intercepted by death. He flattered

* Tacitus, An. XII.

† When Claudius was sick, Nero presented the people with a hunting of wild beasts, for his health. Suetonius, Nero, Ch. VII. This was probably by the order of Agrippina.

Nero in his will, and added, "that if his life had been prolonged for two years longer, he should have completely subjected that province to his obedience." Suetonius Paulinus was appointed to the command. He invaded Mona, (Anglesea), the common refuge of revolters and fugitives, and where the captives were sacrificed in the consecrated groves*.

On the shores of the island, where the Britons were drawn up, the Romans were amazed at the sight of women, with their hair disheveled, and fire-brands in their hands, frantic and furious, surrounded by Druids, with uplifted hands, and pouring out bitter and direful imprecations on the invaders. The astonished and dismayed Romans paused and stood motionless with terror. Exhorted repeatedly by their general, they at length fell on the enemy, sword in hand, and conquered Mona. In the mean while, Prasatugus, long renowned for his opulence and grandeur, king of the Icenians, died, and left Nero co-heir, with his two daughters, of his great treasures: but the Emperor's officers seized the whole in the name of their master †. The widow, Boadicea, remonstrating against this injustice, underwent the ignominious violence of stripes, and her daughters were brutally dishonoured. Indignant at this infamous conduct, all the Britons subjected to the Romans, (except London), revolted. The Trinobantes were particularly exasperated by the Roman veterans having turned them out of their houses, and debased them by the vile titles of captives and slaves.

A.D. 60.

Catus Decianus, the procurator, regardless of law or justice, confiscated the property guarantied by the decree of Claudius. Seneca, the *moralist and philosopher*, having lent the Britons about three

* Tacitus, An. XIV.

‡ The country of the Iceni was Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. Venta Icenorum (now Caster, near Norwich,) was their capital.

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hundred thousand pounds on usurious interest, exacted rigorously, on a sudden, the repayment. (A. D. 61).

At this period, says Tacitus, the statue of victory at Camelodunum tumbled down, with her face turned round; some women were transported with oracular fury, and chaunted destruction to be at hand. In the places of public business the accent and tumultuous murmurs of strangers were heard: their theatre echoed with dismal howlings; and in the lakes, formed by the tides resisting the Thames, a representation was seen of a colony overthrown. The sea was dyed with blood, and phantoms of human bodies appeared left behind on the strand. These omens filled the Britons with joy and hope: the Romans were cast down with fear and despondency*. They sought succours from the procurator of the province, who sent them only two hundred men; and there was but a small number in the colony itself.

The Britons rose; and every thing at Camelodunum yielded to instant violence, and was razed or burnt †. The temple stood a siege of two days, all the soldiers having retired thither; and was then taken by storm. Petilius Cerialis, commander of the ninth legion, as he advanced to relieve his friend, was met and encountered by the victorious Britons: his legion was routed, and all his infantry were slain. Cerialis, with the horse, escaped to the camp, and there defended himself in his entrenchments.

The terrified procurator, universally hated by the province, driven thus into hostility, by his rapacious avarice, fled into Gaul ‡.

Suetonius bravely marched through the heart of the insurrection quite to London, "a city, in truth, not distinguished with the title of a colony, but highly famed for the vast conflux of traders, and her abun-

* See Dion Cassius, Vol. 1, p. 345.

† The town, Pliny relates, was quickly restored. ‡ Tacitus, An. XIV.

dant commerce and plenty. Suetonius feared to make London his head-quarters, in consequence of the small number of his troops. Many of the inhabitants left London with him: whoever staid behind, whether from the weakness of their sex, the decrepitude of age, or the charms of the place, fell, without exception; and London was reduced to ashes. The like slaughter befel the municipal city of Verulamium, (St. Albans). It appeared that seventy thousand Romans or confederates of Rome, for the Britons neither made, nor sold, nor exchanged prisoners, were gibbeted, burnt, or crucified, with the desperation of men who were sure of undergoing a terrible doom, and who resolved, by anticipation, to spill the blood of others before their own was spilt*."

A.D. 61.

In the battle that followed, Suetonius had ten thousand men only, while the queen's army is said by Dion Cassius, to have consisted of two hundred and thirty thousand, confident in their courage and numbers. Suetonius chose a place which stretched out before into a

* A short time previous to the massacre, the Emperor, says Tacitus, issued an edict, "That no procurator, or any other magistrate, who had obtained a charge in any province, should exhibit a spectacle of gladiators or *wild beasts*, nor of any other popular entertainment whatsoever; for, before this, they had, by such acts of munificence, no less afflicted those under their jurisdiction, than by plundering them of their money, whilst, under the influence of such court to the multitude, they sheltered their arbitrary delinquencies and rapine." Claudius sent his army to Britain, A. D. 43. Nero succeeded Claudius in the year 54. The massacre was in the year 61. This remarkable edict was issued not long before the massacre, which happened when the Romans had been in the possession of Britain for fifteen or sixteen years, and had very probably been entertaining the natives with the novel and extraordinary shows, and battles of wild beasts, at exorbitant charges. Seneca's loans are a proof that no one was scrupulous of profiting by a newly conquered and rich country. Tacitus remarks, (Life of Agricola), that Britain had sufficient gold and silver amply to reward all the toils and dangers of its conquerors, besides its great wealth in mines.

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hollow and narrow vale, with steep sides, and was behind girt in with wood.

The heroine, with her daughters at her side, in the chariot, rode among the several nations, animating them to revenge the wrongs they suffered, from the lust of their oppressors: besides, added she, "you pay a tax for your very bodies; my resolution is, to vanquish or die: as for the men, they may, if they please, live and be slaves." At the end of her speech, she let loose a hare, which she had concealed in her bosom, as a good omen of victory.

The Britons were slain to the number of eighty thousand; while the Romans had but eight hundred killed and wounded: so superior is discipline to numbers and the most desperate courage. The unhappy queen poisoned herself.

Poenius Postumus, camp-marshal to the second legion, on the tidings of the exploits and success of the fourteenth and twentieth legions; as he had defrauded his own of equal honour, and, contrary to the laws of military duty, had disobeyed the orders of his general, pierced himself through with his sword.

Suetonius received strong reinforcements from Germany*, while the Britons were dying in numbers by famine; having neglected to cultivate the ground†.

Besides that, this people, by nature wonderfully stubborn, says Taci-

* On the losing of Britain and Armenia, Nero thought that he had run through all the misfortunes the Fates had decreed him. Suetonius, Ch. XL.

† About this period, or later, a Roman senator married a British lady named Claudia Rufina, an accomplished beauty. Rapin, (Vol. I. p. 14,) supposes this lady to be one of the Saints mentioned by St. Paul. See Milton's 8vo edit. p. 93.

"From painted Britons how was Claudia born?
The fair barbarian how do arts adorn?.
When Roman charms a Grecian soul commend,
Athens and Rome may for the dame contend." *Martial.*

tus, were become more averse to peace, from the behaviour of Julius Classicianus, who had arrived as successor to Catus; and, being at variance with Suetonius, he obstructed the public good, to gratify private pique; every where publishing, that another governor was expected, who was free from the arrogance of a conqueror. He transmitted advice to Rome of the necessity of a change, charging all the recent disasters to the bad conduct of Suetonius. Nero despatched to Britain Polycletus, one of the imperial freedmen, conceiving mighty hopes, that, by the authority of his domestic, private amity between the governor and procurator would not only be effected, but that the hostile spirit of the Britons would be reconciled to peace. Polycletus travelled through Italy and Gaul, and oppressed both with his enormous train; and thence crossing the Channel, he marched in such awful state, that he became a terror even to the Roman soldiers. To the Britons he proved an object of derision: for, as amongst them popular liberty even then reigned, they were hitherto utter strangers to the power of manumitted bondsmen. They were amazed, that a general and army who had finished so formidable a war, should be subservient to slaves. From the report of Polycletus, Suetonius was continued in the government; but having lost a few gallies and their rowers, he was ordered to resign his army to Petronius Turpilianus, who had just finished his consulship; a commander, who, on his stupid inaction, bestowed the appellation of peace*. His successor, Trebellius Maximus, fled out of Britain, scared by the fury and menaces of the soldiers, and was succeeded by Vettius Bolanus†, in the reign of Vitellius.

Petilius Cerealis, of consular dignity, was sent by Vespasian, as governor, to Britain.

* Tacitus. † Tacitus, History, B. II.

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In that island the affection for Vespasian was great. He had commanded the second legion there in the reign of Claudius, and acquitted himself with great glory.

The troops in that country acceded to his party; but not without opposition from the other legions; in which many centurions, and many soldiers had been promoted by Vitellius, and were brought with regret to change a prince of whom they had already had some experience.

A.D. 69. From these contests and reports of civil war in Italy, the Britons, swayed by Venusius, who hated the Roman name, and was at personal enmity with Cartismandua, the queen of the Brigantes, resumed hostilities. This lady was illustrious in her race, and her power had been greatly augmented since the merit she enjoyed of having given up Caractacus to the Romans. Hence her opulence and wild riot in prosperity. Rejecting her husband Venusius, she conferred her person and crown on Vellocatus, his armour-bearer. By this reproachful action the queen wrought the present ruin of her house. The Brigantes revolted in favour of Venusius. Cartismandua, by the Roman squadrons and cohorts, was rescued from impending danger: but the kingdom remained to Venusius, and the war to the Romans*.

Cerealis defeated the Brigantes in several battles, some of which
A.D. 74. were very bloody. Vespasian had sent off to Italy many British recruits, during his war with Vitellius. Julius Frontinus was now governor; he in his turn had to sustain this mighty task; and utterly subdued the powerful Silures.

Such was now the condition of Britain. Who were the first inhabitants of the island, cannot be known, says Tacitus, among a people so barbarous. In their looks and persons, they vary. The red hair

* Tacitus, History, B. III. Ch. XLIII.

and large limbs of the Caledonians testify their descent to be from Germany. The swarthy complexion of the Silures, and their hair, which is generally curled, with their situation, opposite the coast of Spain, furnish ground to believe that they are descendants from the ancient Iberians. They who live next to Gaul, are like the Gauls: their sacred rights and superstitions are the same; their speech does not much vary; in daring dangers they are prompted by the like boldness, and with the like affright avoid them when they approach. In the Britons, however, superior ferocity and defiance is found, as in a people not yet softened by a long peace; for we learn from history that the Gauls, too, flourished in warlike prowess and renown; but that with peace and idleness, effeminacy entered; and thus, with the loss of their liberty, they lost their spirit and magnanimity. The same happened to those of the Britons who were conquered long ago. The rest continue such as the Gauls once were.

Their principal force consists in their foot. Some nations among them make war in chariots. The more honourable person always drives, and under his leading, his followers fight. They were formerly subject to kings. They are now swayed by several chiefs, and rent into factions and parties. Against nations thus powerful, nought avails the Romans so much as that they consult not in a body.

The sky of the island is dull and heavy; but there is not excessive cold. The soil is such, that except the olive and the vine, it readily bears all fruits and grain, and is very fertile; it produces quickly, but from the extreme humidity, its productions ripen slowly.

Britain yields gold, silver, and other metals, all of which prove the prize and reward of the conquerors. The sea breeds pearls, but of a dark and livid hue, a defect ascribed by some to the unskilfulness of those who gather them: for myself, continues the Roman his-

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torian, I am much apter to believe that nature has not given these pearls perfection, than that we fail in avarice.

The Britons themselves cheerfully comply with the levies of men, the imposition of taxes, and all the duties enjoined by government; provided they receive no illegal treatment and insults from their governors: those they bear with impatience. Nor have the Romans any farther subdued them, than only to obey just laws, but never to submit to be slaves. Even the deified Julius Cæsar, the first of all the Romans who entered Britain with an army, though, by gaining a battle, he frightened the natives, and became master of the coast; yet he may be thought to have rather presented posterity with a view of the country, than to have conveyed down the possession. The civil wars ensuing, Britain was long forgotten, and continued to be so even during peace. This was what Augustus called *Reasons of State,* but what Tiberius stiled the *Ordinance of Augustus**.

A. D. 78. Towards the end of Vespasian's reign†, (A. D. 78), Julius Agricola, who in his youth had been trained up in the British wars, succeeded to the command; a general of the highest reputation. He entirely defeated the Ordovices, (North Wales), who had surprised and killed a whole squadron of Roman horse.

Mona required again to be invaded. Agricola, by his sudden attack, his prudence and justice, conciliated that island. Such was his discretion that he did not apply this his good fortune and success to any purpose of vain glory: nor would he so much as with the bare honour of the

* Tacitus, Life of Agricola.

† Referring to this period, Josephus writes, "As for those who place so much confidence in the walls of Jerusalem, they would do well to consider the walls of Britain, where the inhabitants are surrounded by the sea in a kind of a new world, not much inferior to the other. They have made themselves masters of this vast island too, and assigned only four legions as a guard upon it." Wars of the Jews, B. II. Ch. XVI. Sir Roger L'Estrange's Ed.

laurel distinguish these exploits. Men considered how vast must be his future views, when he thus smothered in silence deeds so noble*. Being acquainted with the temper of the Britons, he determined to cut off all the causes of war. Beginning with himself, he checked and regulated his own household; a task which to many is not less difficult than governing a province. He did not permit any thing which concerned the public to be transacted by a domestic, bond or free.

He raised the soldiers to a superior class, being convinced that the best are ever the most faithful. For small offences he was often satisfied with the remorse of the culprit: for such as were great he exercised proportionable severity. Though the imposition of tribute and grain had been augmented, he caused it to be adjusted with equality. The inhabitants had been forced to bear the mockery of attending at their own barns, locked up by the publicans, and of purchasing their own corn of the monopolists; they had moreover been enjoined to carry grain across the countries to great distances. By suppressing these grievances, Agricola gained a high character; for, till then, a state of peace had been no less dreaded than that of war.

By his wise and mild conduct, several communities, which till now had kept their independence, ceased hostility, gave hostages, and were begirt with garrisons and fortresses, erected with such just contrivance, that no part of Britain hitherto known, escaped thenceforward from being annoyed by them. The following winter Agricola privately exhorted, then publicly assisted, the Britons to build temples and houses and places of assembling. He was taking care to have the sons of their chiefs taught the liberal sciences, already preferring the

* Tacitus. We may perceive and admire the affectionate partiality of this celebrated historian for his father in law, throughout his life of Agricola. It is perhaps requisite to keep this in mind, when trusting to the authority of Tacitus concerning Agricola.

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natural capacity of the Britons to the studied acquirement of the Gauls; and such was his success, that they who had so lately scorned to learn the language, were become fond of acquiring the Roman eloquence. They began to honour the apparel, and the use of the Roman gown grew frequent among them. By degrees, they proceeded to the incitements and charms of vice and dissoluteness, to magnificent galleries, sumptuous bagnios, and all the stimulations and elegance of banquetting. In the third year of his command, Agricola discovered new people, and continued his enterprises quite to the mouth of the Tay. Terror seized the inhabitants, and they dared not attack the Romans, though they were annoyed and shaken by terrible tempests. The Romans secured possession, by erecting forts, and no place of strength was founded by Agricola, that was ever taken by violence: they were supplied with provisions for a year; and each fortress defended itself through the winter: which reduced the Caledonians to despair. Agricola never arrogated to himself the glory of exploits performed by others: were he a centurion or the commander of a legion, in his general he found a sincere witness of his achievements. By some, he is said to have been over sharp in his reproofs, but from his anger no spleen remained.

Vespasian having died, Titus continued Agricola in the command; this Emperor * expired on the 13th of September, 81; and Agricola remained as governor under Domitian †. Agricola built a chain of

* Titus was saluted Emperor no less than fifteen times for Agricola's successes. Camden, Vol. I. p. xiii.

† Arviragus was living in Domitian's reign.

"A great omen
You have of a great and illustrious triumph:
You will take some king, or from a British chariot
Arviragus will fall." *Madan's Juvenal*, Sat. IV. 127.

fortresses from the Clyde to the Frith of Forth; and furnished them with garrisons, to secure his conquests from the inroads of the northern tribes.

" In the fifth year of the war, Agricola passed the Frith of Forth, himself being in the first ship that reached the land. Here he subdued nations, till that time not known; and placed garrisons on the coast of Britain, which faces Ireland; which in soil and climate, as also in the temper and manners of the natives, varies little from Britain; its ports and landings are better known, through the frequency of commerce and merchants. A petty king of that country, who had been expelled by domestic dissension, was protected by Agricola *.

He coasted and explored the large communities beyond the Frith. His fleet by sea, and his army by land, made a glorious appearance. The same camp often contained the foot, the horse, and the marines; all intermixed, and severally magnifying their own feats and hazards amidst dismal forests, steep mountains, and tempestuous seas. The sight of the fleet struck the Britons with dismay. The last refuge of the vanquished was now invaded.

The intrepid Caledonians attacked the forts, and defied the invaders. Agricola divided his army into three parts, to prevent the enemy from surrounding him. The Caledonians, availing themselves of the opportunity thus offered, assaulted the ninth legion in the night, slew the guards, and entered the trenches: they were pursuing the fight in the camp itself †, in the gates of which a bloody encounter ensued. The Caledonians were routed, and fled to the woods and marshes.

* Tacitus.

† Supposed to be at Lochore, two miles from Lochleven, where there is a Roman camp.

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The Romans were elated at this success and the renown thus gained by their valour.

The spirit of the Caledonians was unsubdued, they armed their young men, and placed their wives and children in secure towns.

The summer having commenced, Galgacus, the bravest and noblest commander of the Caledonians, encamped on the Grampian Hills, with thirty thousand men in arms. The youths, and such of the elderly men as were still hale, and had distinguished themselves in war, continued to flock in. Agricola arrived with his army.

On the approach of the two armies, Galgacus addressed his troops: "When I contemplate," said he, "the necessity to which we are reduced, great is my confidence that this union of yours, will this day prove the beginning of universal liberty to Britain. Bondage is what we have never borne. Beyond us is no land, and the Roman fleet is upon our coast. Arms are therefore the safest refuge, even for cowards. The other Britons have had various success, and their remaining hope is in us, the noblest, and, thence, placed in its innermost regions. This remote tract, unknown even to common fame, is the last that enjoys liberty. Against the domineering plunderers of the earth and sea, humility will prove no refuge. To commit spoil and butchery, they call government; and where they have spread desolation, they call it peace. If our wives and sisters escape their violence, they are debauched by their pretended hospitality. Our fortunes are exhausted for tribute, our grain for their provision. We are doomed, under blows, to fell forests and to drain bogs. Remember that the Brigantes under a woman stormed the Roman entrenchments; but success degenerated into sloth. There are Britons in the enemy's army, with shame I mention it, but they are only held by terror, frail bondage of endearment!

"Whatever the Romans behold around them, strikes them with

dread: the air, the sky, the woods, the sea; all is wild and strange, so that the Gods have, in some sort, delivered them inclosed and bound into our hands. Be not dismayed with a glare of gold and silver, which can neither wound nor save. In the host of the enemy we shall find that the Britons will espouse their genuine cause; the Gauls will recollect their former liberty; the Germans will abandon the Romans. The Romans have no wives to hearten and urge them; no fathers and mothers to upbraid them for flying.

"The Roman colonies are full of dissensions—here you see a general, here an army. There you may behold tributes, and the mines, with all other curses, ever pursuing men enslaved.

"Whether these things are to be for ever imposed; or whether we, forthwith, avenge ourselves for the attempt, this very field must determine. Therefore, as you advance to battle, look back on your ancestors; look forward to your posterity!"

This speech, says Tacitus, was received joyfully, with chantings, terrible din, and dissonant shouts, after the manner of barbarians. Already their bands moved, and the glittering of their arms appeared; the most resolute were running to their front, and the army forming in battle array: when Agricola, though seeing his soldiers full of alacrity, and hardly to be restrained by express cautions, chose to address them: "It is now the eighth year, my fellow soldiers, since you have been pursuing the conquest of Britain. In the many battles you have fought, you have had constant occasion either to be exerting your bravery against the foe, or your patience against the obstacles of nature. We now possess the extremity of Britain with our camps and armies. In the midst of fatigue, while passing morasses, rivers, and mountains, I have been wont to hear those who are remarkably brave ask,—*When shall we see the enemy, when be led to battle?* Already, roused from their fastnesses and lurking holes, they are come. Now,

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all is propitious, if you conquer; all is disaster, if you be vanquished. Safety, there is none, in turning our backs on the foe; neither would it be a fate void of glory to fall in this, the utmost verge of the earth and of nature. These are the enemy you utterly discomfited last year, by the terror of your shouting; when, by stealth, they attacked a single legion in the dark. These are they, who, of all the Britons, are the most abandoned to fear and flight, and thence happen to survive the rest; a crowd, fearful and effeminate, and stand in yonder field, benumbed and bereft of spirit. Here close a struggle of fifty years; so that there may not be imputed to the army either the procrastination of the war, or any cause for reviving it."

The centre of the Roman army was composed of a strong band of eight thousand auxiliary foot. The wings were environed with three thousand horse. The legions, without advancing, stood embattled just without the entrenchments: for mighty would be the glory of the victory, were it gained without spilling Roman blood.

The British host was ranged upon the rising ground, both for show and terror: the first band standing upon the plain, and the rest rising successively behind. Their cavalry and chariots of war filled the interjacent field with great tumults and bounding to and fro.

Agricola, fearing he might be beset at once in front, and on each flank, extended his troops. Many advised him to bring on the legions, but, ever firm, he dismounted, and advanced on foot before the banners. In the beginning, the conflict was maintained at a distance. The Britons*, brave and skilful, armed with their huge swords and small bucklers, quite eluded the missive weapons, or beat them off; whilst, of their own, they poured a torrent upon the Romans; till Agricola encouraged three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts to close

* Tacitus uses the terms Britons and Caledonians promiscuously.

with the enemy, hand to hand, a familiar practice with those veterans, but embarrassing to the Caledonians, who were armed with little targets, and swords of enormous size, round at the end, and unfit for grappling. The Batavians thickened their blows, wounding the foe with the iron bosses of their bucklers, and mangling their faces: they were bearing down all those who were upon the plain, when the rest of the cohorts joined them, and made havoc of all they encountered. The British cavalry fled. The chariots of war mingled with the foot: and now, losing their riders, the horses ran wild and affrighted, and beat down the troops of their own side. While the Romans were urging their victory, the Britons upon the hills, who were yet fresh, looked with scorn on the enemy, and endeavoured imperceptibly to surround their rear. Agricola, who had apprehended this very design, despatched four squadrons of horse to engage them: they charged in front, wheeled about, assailed, and utterly routed the Britons. The spectacle was tragical; and the present captives were always slaughtered as often as others were taken.

Some of the vanquished fled in large troops, with all their arms, before a small force: others, unarmed, rushed desperately into peril and instant death. Some of the conquered exerted notable wrath and bravery. When near the woods, they joined, and circumvented the foremost pursuers, who had rashly ventured too far. Agricola, fearing some disaster from this want of caution, kept his ranks close, and continued the pursuit, till a satiety of slaughter, and night, ended the battle.

Of the Britons, ten thousand were slain. There fell of the Romans three hundred and forty; amongst these was Aulus Atticus, commander of a cohort, who, by his own youthful heat, and a fiery horse, was hurried into the midst of the enemy*.

* This great battle, according to Mr. Gordon, was fought in Strathern, half a

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It was a night of great joy to the conquerors, both from the victory and the spoil. The Britons wandered in despair. Sometimes, on beholding their dearest pledges of nature, their spirits became utterly sunk and dejected: some by the same sight were roused into resolution and fury. It is certain, that some murdered their wives and children, as an act of compassion and tenderness.

The next day produced profound silence, solitary hills, thick smoke arising from the houses on fire, and not a living soul to be found by the scouts.

The summer being nearly spent, Agricola conducted his army to the borders of the Horestians, where he received hostages, and ordered the admiral of the fleet to sail round Britain. Quitting the Frith of Tay, the fleet passed round the north of the island, and, with great fame, arrived at the port of Sandwich, whence they had originally departed.

A.D. 86. Titus had admired and rewarded Agricola, but his brother, Domitian, received the news of this great victory with feigned joy*: but it was dreadful above all things to him, that the name of a private

A.D. 87. man should be exalted above that of the Emperor. Agricola was recalled. Domitian, conscious of the derision inevitable on account of his mock triumph over the Germans, for which he had purchased a number of slaves, and dressed them to resemble captives, was stung at the thoughts of the unfavorable comparison; and, notwithstanding the modesty and prudence of Agricola after he returned to Italy,

mile from the Kirk of Comerie, where there is a remarkable encampment.—Rapin.

* In Domitian's reign, the Britons were not inferior, in way of life and improvement, to the other provinces.—Camden, Vol. I. p. xlvii. Also Juvenal, Sat. XV. 111, says—

"And learned Gaul the British lawyers forms."

where he lived in retirement, there is little doubt of the jealous and cruel tyrant having poisoned him* (A. D. 93, aged 56).

Britain, south of Agricola's forts, in which he placed strong garrisons, was now become a Roman province; and the natives, adopting the Roman customs and manners, made but faint attempts to recover their liberty. Nothing occurred, that has been noticed by historians, except that in Trajan's reign Britain revolted and was subdued, till the reign of Adrian, when the northern people demolished some of Agricola's fortresses, and made irruptions into the Roman province. Julius Severus, a general of renown, governed the island; but having been sent to suppress the Jews, who were in tumult, Adrian himself arrived in Britain. Hearing, at York, from some old soldiers who had A. D. 124. accompanied Agricola in his expedition, what kind of country he had to invade, he resolved on abandoning the territory north of the Tyne and Solway Frith†. He dug a deep ditch, and made a lofty and spacious rampart from sea to sea, above sixty miles in length, and garrisoned eighteen thousand Roman troops in forts and stations, at proper distances. While in Britain, Adrian received news of the death of

* Domitian put to death Sallustius Lucullus, Lieutenant of Britain, for suffering some lances of a new invention to be called *Lucullean*.—Suetonius, Ch. X.

† "Adrian, careless of repose, marched, bare-headed, over the sultry plains of Upper Egypt, and the snows of Caledonia."—Gibbon, Ch. I. It does not, however, appear, that he *invaded* Caledonia, while he was in Britain: Florus writes—

"Cæsar, I envy not thy trade,
Among the Britons to parade,
And midst the Scottish frosts be laid."

To which Adrian replies,

"Florus, I envy not thy sphere,
Taverns to haunt in quest of cheer;
To lounge in every eating-house,
And there in brimmers to carouse."

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Plotina, the widow of Trajan, to whom he chiefly owed his elevation. His grief was so immoderate, as to be attributed to love for that empress *. Adrian returned to Rome, and was honoured with medals—To the *Restorer* of Britain: he left Priscus Licinius as governor.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius, on the removal of some of the Roman troops, Adrian's rampart was in several places destroyed, and the country ravaged by the Caledonians. Lollius Urbicus was sent to Britain as governor. He subdued the revolted Brigantes, and con-

A. D. 144. fined the northern tribes again within the line, where Agricola's forts had been, by a broad and deep ditch, and a rampart upon a foundation of stone, and faced with stone, defended by eighteen garrisons, at two miles' distance from each other, with watch towers between each. It was called Antoninus's wall. The Roman navy in Britain was now commanded by Seius Saturninus.

A.D. 162. Marcus Aurelius sent Calphurnius Agricola, as governor, to Britain. He checked the insolence of the Caledonians, and strengthened the Roman power. In this reign, Lucius, a British king, is said to have embraced the Christian religion. At the termination of the Marcomanic war, the Emperor sent eight thousand Scythians (Jazyges) into Britain †.

In the reign of Commodus, there were great disturbances in the island. The Romans had neglected to keep up the discipline of their army; and a Roman general, with his troops, had been defeated, and cut to pieces. The Emperor was alarmed at this, and sent over Ulpius Marcellus ‡, a general of high reputation, who restored peace and discipline: for which he was rewarded with hatred and envy.

* Life of Sabina, wife of Adrian, by De Serviez.

† Rees's Cyc. "Sarmatia."

‡ While this governor was in Britain, in order to keep himself vigilant by abstemiousness, he had his bread from Rome, and ate it stale, that he might not be induced to any excess by fresh bread.—Camden.

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On the recal of Marcellus, the rapacious and ambitious Perennis, the Emperor's favourite, removed the veteran officers in Britain, to replace them with others of his own nomination. A deputation of fifteen hundred troops marched to Rome, demanded justice, and informed the Emperor of the intrigues that were hatching against him. Commodus, who was already jealous of Perennis, delivered him up at once to the mutineers, who executed him instantly: his wife, his sister, and his two children, shared his fate: his son, who commanded the troops in Illyria, was entrapped by a friendly letter from Commodus, to proceed to Rome; but as soon as he set his foot in Italy, he also was despatched, still being ignorant of his father's fate*. A.D. 186.

Pertinax (afterwards Emperor) was deputed to Britain to restore order; but commencing with too much severity in military discipline, the ninth legion mutinied: and being desirous to have a new Emperor, they offered that dignity to Pertinax, who, in one of these revolts, was wounded and left for dead among the slain: he however recovered, and subdued all obstacles; but being accused of having contributed to the death of Arrius Antoninus, and not being beloved by the soldiers, he requested his recal. A.D. 189.

Clodius Albinus, a general of great reputation, was now selected by Commodus for the important command of Britain; and the Emperor wrote him a letter, fearing the revolt of Severus and Nonius Murcus, to desire him, if he found the necessity, to assume the title and dignity of Cæsar, with permission, should he do so, to make use of the requisite sums of money to distribute among the soldiers. But Albinus, fearing some tragical event might befal Commodus, and cause his own ruin, did not avail himself of this offer.

On Pertinax succeeding to the empire, (A.D. 192), he confirmed

* Herodian.

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Clodius Albinus governor of Britain: and he was continued in that post the next year by the new Emperor, Didius Julianus. He gained the affection of the soldiers to so great a degree, that, on the execution of Didius, after Severus arrived in Italy *, they proclaimed him Emperor. He contested the throne with Septimius Severus, but was
A. D. 197. defeated near Lyons in a great battle, immediately after which Albinus destroyed himself.

Severus divided Britain into two governments: the northern half was governed by Virius Lupus†: Dio relates that he purchased peace of the Caledonians. After a quiet period of several years, and great relaxation and negligence among the Roman troops, the Caledonians began to be so troublesome, that Severus himself, though afflicted with the gout, and above sixty years old, resolved in person to conquer the northern part of the island. He set out for Britain (A. D. 208), at the head of a numerous army, and accompanied by the Empress Julia Domna with her sister Mesa, and his sons Caracalla and Geta, both of whom had been raised to the rank of Augustus: and Rome, for the first time, had three Emperors ‡. The Caledonians sent ambassadors to treat on honourable terms. Severus required them to submit to his mercy; which they refused. The Emperor then leaving Geta in the command at London, attended by his whole court, and his formidable army, marched to the north with his eldest son Caracalla.

* When Didius had intelligence of the march of Severus, nothing was to be seen at Rome but soldiers, *elephants*, and horses, training for war.—Dion Cassius.

† An altar dedicated to the goddess Fortune, inscribed to Virius Lupus, on the occasion of his repairing a bath for the Thracian cohorts in garrison with the Romans at Levatriæ, (Bowes, Richmondshire), has been dug up at that place.

‡ Gibbon, Ch. VI. Caracalla was elevated in the year 198; Geta at about the year of this expedition. Some writers date the arrival in Britain in 207.

ROMANS who were in BRITAIN.

(See Description.)

VESPASIAN,

13. DIVVS IVLIVS CAESAR

14. TI·CLAVDIVS·CAESAR·AVG·GER·P·M·TR·P·IMP·VIII·IMP·XIX

COL CAMALODON AVG

15. AVTOKRATWR TITOS KAISAR SEBASTOS

Gained 30 Battles in Britain.

TITVS·CAESAR·VESPASIANVS·IMP·IX

16. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS COS III P P

Resided at York.

EXER BRIT ANNOS

17. IMP·CAES·P·HELV·PERTINAX·AVG

Severely wounded in Britain.

18. CLOD·SEPT·ALBIN·CAES

Proclaimed Emp. in Britain.

COS

19. SEPTIMIVS AVG BRIT

Died at York.

VICTORIAE BRIT ANNICAE

CARACALLA,

20. ANTONEINOC AVTKMAVPCEVH

Built Severus's Wall.

21. IMP·CAES·P·SEPT·GETA·PIVS·AVG·BRIT

Governor of London.

VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE

JULIA DOMNA,

IOVLIA ΔOMNA CEBACTH

Resided at York.

22. MHNH ΠOCKAIOZHNωNANEΘEC

AΦPOΔICIC EΩN

JULIA MESA,

IOVLIA·MAICA·CEBAC

Resided at York.

23. MATER CASTRORVM PLANCVS H

24. D·CONSTANTIVS MAX AVG

Died at York.

VIRTVS EXERCITVS R

25. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG

Saluted Emp^r at York.

VIRTVS EXERCITVS CONSA

26. CONSTANTINVS IVNIOR

Built a Wall round London.

PROVIDENTIA CAES PLON

27. DN·THEODOSIVS·PF·AVG

VIRTVS EXERCITVS TESS

J. Swarne fc.

Published April. 11, 1826.

YORK, THE HEAD QUARTERS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE*.

EBORACUM was the capital of the northern division. Severus, with his large army, and his whole court, arrived at the capital. "It was

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* DESCRIPTION OF PLATE II.

(ROMANS WHO WERE IN BRITAIN.)

No.

13 *Julius Cæsar.*—Reverse, Augustus. (Found at Dunstable).

14 *Claudius.*—A colonial medal. (Found at Littleborough, Nottinghamshire).

15 *Vespasian and Titus.*—Haym. Del Tesoro Britannico, Vol. II. Plate V. (In the possession of the Duke of Devonshire).

16 *Hadrian.*—(Found at Littleborough).

17 *Pertinax.*—Haym. Vol. I. p. 258. (Sir Robert Abdy).

18 *Clodius Albinus.*—Elected Emperor by the troops in Britain. (Found at Dunstable).

19 *Severus.*—He died at York. (Found in Leicestershire).

20 *Caracalla.*—Haym. Vol. II. Plate XV. (Duke of Devonshire).

21 *Geta.*—(Found in Leicestershire).

22 *Julia Domna.*—Reverse, Venus Lucina. Haym. Vol. II. Plate XIV.—Wife of Severus and mother of Caracalla and Geta. Supposed to have been coined in Lydia. (Duke of Devonshire).

23 *Julia Mesa.*—Reverse, Jupiter and Juno, deities of the Amastrians, crowned with the signs of the Zodiac.—Sister of Julia Domna; grandmother of Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus. Haym. Vol. II. Plate XVIII. (Duke of Devonshire).

24 *Constantius, (Chlorus).*—He died at York. (Found in Rutlandshire). For the head of his empress, Helena, see Plate III. No. 39.

25 *Constantine, (The Great).*—He was proclaimed at York. (Found at Chesterton in Warwickshire).

26 *Constantine, (The Younger).*—Reverse, PLON. coined at London.—He built a wall round London, or finished the one *said to have been built by his father or Helena.* (Found in Rutlandshire).

27 *Theodosius.*—He served in Britain under his father, and with his future rival, Maximus. (Found at Dunstable).

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at this period that York shone in full lustre. *Britannici orbis Roma Altera, Palatium Curiæ, et Prætorium Cæsaris,* are titles it might justly lay claim to. The prodigious concourse of tributary kings, foreign ambassadors and others, which crowded the courts of the sovereigns of the world, when the Roman empire was in its prime, must have produced the height of sublunary grandeur: and this, without mentioning the Emperor's own magnificence, his numerous retinue, the noblemen of Rome, or the officers of the army, which must all, necessarily, attend him. In these days, and before, no doubt, the temple of Bellona stood here. Whatever was done at Rome, we may presume was executed at York. The palace at York must have been very magnificent. (The one built by this Emperor was noble and extensive). *It was here that Severus triumphed for one of the greatest conquests (over the Parthians and Arabians), Rome ever gained,* and which, with the building of the wall, Spartian expressly calls the greatest glories of his reign *."

Severus, from his infirmities, and then having the gout, was carried all over the island in a litter †; he, with infinite toil, penetrated to the utmost bounds of the north, cutting down forests, and draining morasses, or filling them with bavins. All this while no enemy's soldiers appeared: they hung unseen on the rear and flanks of the Romans, and harassed them perpetually.

This campaign, from the extreme severity of the labour, and ex-

* Drake's York, p. 10 to 14. There had also been a triumph at Rome for the eastern victories, in the tenth year of Severus's reign, but he, having the gout, would not permit it in his own name, being too ill to be present at it; Caracalla therefore enjoyed the honor, for his success against the Jews; and this triumph, at York, was to celebrate the conquests of Severus. He received from the senate the title of the conqueror of the Britons, while he was at York. See Spartian, and Bernard, Vol. I. p. 246; also Medal, Plate I. A. 12.

† Dion Cassius, "Severus."

posure to cold in the mountains and bogs, is said to have cost the Romans fifty thousand men*. The Caledonians, however, at length yielded.

The Emperor, finding that he could not keep the country in subjection without a considerable army on the spot; resolved to depend on the project of Adrian, by confining the Caledonians within a more secure barrier. This great undertaking was superintended by Caracalla. The position was a few paces north of Adrian's rampart; and the length, from the mouth of the Tyne to Boulness on the Solway Frith, sixty-eight English miles. To the north of the wall was a broad and deep ditch: the wall itself, on the brink of the ditch, was built of solid stone, strongly cemented with the best mortar. The height was twelve feet, besides the parapet; and its breadth eight feet.

There were eighteen stations fortified with deep ditches and strong walls, the great wall itself forming the north wall of each station. The smallest station contained a cohort, or six hundred men. Without the walls of each station, was a town inhabited by labourers, both Romans and Britons, who chose to dwell there, under the protection of these fortresses.

There were between the stations eighty-one castella, or castles, exact squares of sixty-six feet every way; fortified on each side with thick and lofty walls; in which guards were constantly kept. The towers, or turrets, formed each a square of twelve feet standing out of the wall on its south side.

The troops allotted to guard the wall, consisted of twelve cohorts of foot, one cohort of mariners in the station at Boulness, one detach-

* It is very probable that great numbers of cattle, men, and other vestiges of this invasion are still in the marshes of Scotland: *now* perhaps dried up.

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ment of Moors *, probably equal to a cohort, and four alæ, or wings, of horse, at the lowest computation, of four hundred each. In all, ten thousand.

For the convenience of marching from one part of the wall to another, there were annexed to it two military ways, paved with square stones, in the most solid and beautiful manner; one larger and one smaller, from castle to castle, &c. to relieve guards and sentinels. (This wall proved an impenetrable barrier to the Roman territories for near two hundred years. In subsequent times, it was the common quarry, for more than a thousand years, for building all the towns and villages around †). The restless Caledonians, on the retiring of the Roman legions, resuming hostilities, Severus was provoked to send another army into their country, under the command of Caracalla, with the most bloody orders: not to subdue, but to exterminate them; even to the child unborn. They were saved by the Emperor's death at York, A. D. 211, aged 66. His corpse was burnt with great pomp at a place without the walls of York ‡.

* The Emperor Severus was an African, born at Leptis (Napoli di Barbaria, in the goverment of Tripoli). Bernard, Vol. I. p. 227.

† See Henry, Hist. Eng. II. 477. Rees's Cyc. "Wall." "When Mr. Roger Gale and I rode the whole length of Severus's Wall, in August, 1725, near Housesteeds, (Borcovius), fragments of pillars lay scattered over the whole place; whence we conclude, here was a temple. By a large part of a capital that remained, we concluded that it was of the Doric order, suitable to a military station. In the meadow there was such a scene of Romano British Antiquities as we had never beheld; we might have loaded waggons with many most curious and beautiful large altars. There were scores of fine basso relievos nearly as big as the life, one of them an admirable image of victory; and three female figures sitting together, with globes in their hands. There was a wall, composed of dry Roman stones, and fragments of carved work, as a sorry fence to a pasture. Who can express the indignation we conceived at the miserable havoc of these most valuable monuments?" Stukeley, Medallic History of Carausius, Vol. II. p. 151.

‡ This place is said still to bear the name of Sever's-hoe. At funerals, it was

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The signs forerunning the death of Severus, were these: He dreamed that he was carried up to Heaven in a chariot drawn by four eagles, and was called by Jupiter, and placed among the Antoninuses. One day, *while the games of the circus were celebrating*, as there were three figures of Victory, with palms in their hands, placed, according to custom, upon the platform where the Emperor's throne is; that in the middle, bearing a globe, on which was inscribed the name of Severus, was blown down upon the ground by a gust of wind*. The one with the name of Geta fell, and was broken to pieces: but that which was inscribed with the name of Bassianus (Caracalla) stood, but lost the palm branch by the wind.

After he had finished his wall, and was returning to the next garrison victorious, having hereby assured the peace of Britain for ever; while he was meditating about what sort of omen he should meet with upon it, a black Moor, one of his soldiers, and a famous droll, presents himself before him, with a crown in his hand made of cypress. Severus in anger commanded him immediately to retire out of his sight, being sensibly touched with the double ill omen of his colour, and the tree of which his crown was composed. In the mean time, said the man, "your Majesty hath been all things, and conquered all things, now be a God."

Having afterwards returned to York, and going to discharge his devotion, the Emperor was conducted, by a mistake of an augur, into a Temple of Bellona; and the beasts which were presented to him to sacrifice were black: but he, refusing to sacrifice in that colour, retir-

customary to kill oxen, &c. and to throw them upon the pile. Severus struck money at York, and stiled himself Britannicus. He also issued a decree regarding slaves, and still in the Roman Code, dated Eboracum, the third of the nones of May, in the consulate of Faustinus and Rufus. (A. D. 209).

* Spartian. See Bernard, Vol. I. p. 253.

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ed to the palace, and the same black victims being left neglected by the priests, went after him as far as to the gates of the palace*."

Severus had been near four years in Britain†, where he got a prodigious mass of wealth‡. The cruel temper of Caracalla, whose chief glory was in killing wild beasts, had clouded all the Emperor's latter years. The ambition of this monster had prompted him to endeavour openly to slay, or privately to poison his father.

Caracalla had produced discontent among the troops, and one of his party had murmured that their victorious career was retarded by a gouty old man. The empress was suspected of being an accomplice in this conspiracy. Severus caused himself to be carried to the tribunal; and, in the midst of the army, condemned some of Caracalla's party to death. The criminals, falling prostrate, implored the Emperor's mercy: for some time Severus was inflexible; but, at length, pardoning them, he placed his hand upon his head: "Now," said he, "are you satisfied that it is the head that rules, and not the feet?" Caracalla, instead of being checked by this, became more furious. Severus and he being sometime afterwards on horseback, holding a conference with the Caledonians, in presence of both armies, Caracalla drew his sword with intention to plunge it through his father's back. Those who were near, suddenly shrieked, which caused the Emperor to turn his head, when he was shocked by the sight of the naked sword. The unhappy parent had sufficient command of himself not to say a single word. When he arrived at his tent, he threw himself upon his bed,

* Spartian. Augustan Hist. The person of Severus is described by Spartian as handsome and stout; he wore a long beard, and his hair curled naturally; he had an awful countenance, and a sweet voice, but with something of the African tone. He ate little, often quite abstained from flesh, and was partial to the peas, beans, and pulse of his native country. He sometimes drank pretty freely.

† Henry, Vol. II.

‡ Dion Cassius, "Severus."

and sent for Caracalla. In the presence of Papinius, the captain of the guards, and Castor, a freed man, the Emperor reproached his son with great coolness. "If you want to kill me," said he, "take this sword and execute your desire here, and not in the presence of two armies: or if shame withholds your hand, request Papinius to rid you of me."

The Roman empire was now in the hands of Caracalla and Geta, with equal power: and the senate acknowledged them both, as lawful and independent Emperors. They left Britain and the Caledonians in peace. On their arrival at Rome, a negotiation was attempted to divide the Empire into East and West: but it could not be brought about. On the 27th of February, A. D. 212, Caracalla, assisted by other assassins, murdered his brother Geta, while his mother, the Empress Julia Domna, was endeavouring to protect him in her arms: she herself being wounded in the hand, and covered with the blood of the unfortunate Geta. A. D. 192.

Julia, the wife of Severus, was one of the most accomplished, beautiful, dissolute, and unfortunate of the Roman empresses. Julia Mesa, her sister, was a lady of great merit, and virtuous beyond the reach of malice; she was prudent and politic; it was principally by her management that her grandsons, Heliogabalus, and Alexander Severus, were elevated to the throne of the Empire. These sisters were born at Emessa in Phœnicia, and were daughters of Bassius, Priest of the Sun. Julia Domna was about twenty years of age when she married Severus; and when he became Emperor the two sisters generally accompanied him in his expeditions, Julia Mesa having become a widow. They were both in Britain during the whole time of the residence of the three Emperors.

Julia Domna is described as extremely beautiful, and as having a just way of thinking, a peculiar grace in her speech, and an elegant

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manner of writing: she had studied geometry, and other sciences, besides the vain art of judicial astrology; and was the patroness of every art, and the friend of every man of genius. She was prodigiously fond of sports and shows, where she always appeared full of life and high spirits, and where her beauty, which remained to an advanced age, could not fail to procure her a crowd of admirers. Such was her ascendency over Severus, notwithstanding her notoriously flagitious conduct, that she could calm him in the midst of his fury, and manage him as she thought proper.

Julia accompanied Severus on his expedition in Caledonia, and received from the inhabitants, with whom she had any intercourse, all the honours it was in their power to pay to her exalted rank. Not finding the politeness of the Roman ladies in the manners of the natives of Caledonia, the Empress frequently rallied them with much vivacity, and in a very provoking stile; no one daring to offend the dignity of the Empress by a repartee. It happened, however, that a Caledonian of distinction, named Argentocox, had a wife* who was very witty and spirited on such occasions. One day, when she went to pay her respects to the Empress, the conversation taking a turn on the customs and manners of the country, Julia was rather satirical on the galantries of the Caledonian ladies, the little fidelity they had to their husbands, and the publicity of their intrigues: on which the other replied with great resolution, "It is true, that we Caledonians do not manage so cunningly as the Roman ladies, we have not their policy to impose on our husbands by intrigues carried on under an appearance of modesty, with the most abject persons; we have the sincerity without disguise to enjoy the society of the bravest men in

* The wife's name (Dion, Vol. II. p. 307,) was Argetoxa.

the world." The empress, at this reply, felt much confused, and never renewed the subject.

After the death of Severus, his body was burnt, with the usual ceremonies, and the ashes were deposited in a costly urn, which Julia had carried with her to Rome. A.D. 211.

When Caracalla was assassinated in Mesopotamia, Julia, her nieces Soemia and Mamea, and their mother Mesa, were all at Antioch. On the news reaching the unfortunate empress, she gave herself up to grief, inflicted blows on herself, although she was suffering from a cancer, which she much inflamed; and refused all nourishment. A letter from Macrinus, now Emperor, full of expressions of respect and esteem, and continuing all the prerogatives and honours she had ever enjoyed, mitigated her afflictions and sorrows. But Macrinus, dreading her influence and abilities, changed his conduct, and commanded her to quit Antioch. Julia, finding no remedy for her misfortunes, and tortured by her cruel disease, abstained from food, and died in the year 217, at the age of about sixty-three, after having enjoyed the highest dignities attainable, and being afflicted with the most dreadful mental and bodily anguish that a human being can support *.

Britain, enjoying uninterrupted tranquillity, is scarcely noticed by any historian for about *seventy-five years.*

A governor who had been sent to Britain by the Emperor Probus assumed the Imperial purple, but was shortly afterwards put to death by Victorinus, a Moor, one of Probus's ministers, by whom the gover-

* Life of Julia Domna, by De Serviez. Augustan History, "Severus." Gibbon, Ch. VI. Spartian reports, that Julia married her son Caracalla, which other authors deny; nor is it in the least probable: she was fifty-seven years of age, when Severus died. He also asserts that Caracalla was her step-son.

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nor had been promoted*. Bonosus, another of the revolters against Probus, was a Briton by birth. His father was a Spaniard, and either a professor of rhetoric or a grammarian, and died while Bonosus was young: his mother was a Gaulese, and a woman of wit. Bonosus served first in the infantry, then in the cavalry; and when he became a general, he had charge of the frontier of Rhætia. No man ever drank like him. The Emperor Aurelian esteemed him for his military talents, and, as he could drink like a *sieve*, he appointed him to entertain the ambassadors from all nations, that he might discover their secrets; he himself remaining perfectly undisturbed by any quantity of wine.

A. D. 282. The Germans having burnt the Roman shipping on the Rhine, and Bonosus fearing that he should be punished for his neglect, boldly claimed Britain, Gaul, and Spain, and assumed the purple. He engaged Probus in a severe battle, but being overpowered, he hanged himself. On which occasion, it was said of him, "*here hangs a tankard, not a man.*" Probus gave his wife a pension, and forgave his two sons. His wife's name was Hunila, of the royal blood of the Goths. She was a woman of singular merit, and had been selected by Aurelian, in order that through her means Bonosus might become well acquainted with the affairs of the Goths. Aurelian commanded that the marriage should be at the public charge, and that Hunila should be presented with silk gowns of a violet colour, and one of silk embroidered with gold, one hundred golden Philips, a thousand Antonines in silver, ten thousand sesterces in brass, and all such things as were proper for a lady of quality †.

Probus was the first Emperor who permitted the Britons to plant vines, as well as the Gauls and Spaniards. He sent over to Britain many Vandals and Burgundians to settle in the island.

* Zosimus, p. 32. † Flavius Vopiscus. Aug. Hist.

MEDALS for VICTORIES in BRITAIN.

(See Description.)

28.

29.

30.

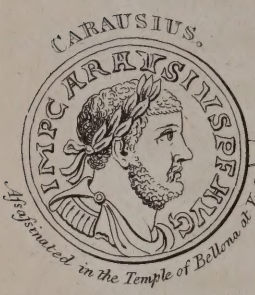
31.

32.

EMPERORS of BRITAIN.

(See Description.)

CARAUSIUS.



Assassinated in the Temple of Bellona at York.

33.

TEMPLE at GRANTA.

34.

35.

Coined in London.

SYLVIVS.

36.

Co-Emperor with Carausius.

ALLECTUS.

37.

Coined in London.

38.

39.

J. Swaine fc.

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CHAP. XIII.

While the Emperor Carus was in Persia, he left Britain and other provinces under the goverment of his son Carinus*.

CARAUSIUS, EMPEROR OF BRITAIN.

A.D. 287.

In the beginning of the reign of Dioclesian, and his associate Maximian with the title of Augustus, and Galerius and Constantius Chlorus with the inferior titles of Cæsar, Carausius a Menapian, of mean origin, commanded the Roman fleet stationed at Boulogne. He had secured to himself immense spoil, taken from the French and German pirates. His great wealth being evidence of his guilt, Maximian gave orders that he should be put to death. Carausius's riches had enabled him to attach the fleet to his fortunes; and foreseeing the severity of the Emperor, he sailed over to Britain, persuaded the Roman legions and auxiliaries, who guarded that island, to embrace his party; built many more ships, and boldly assumed the Imperial purple with the title of Augustus†. (A. D. 287).

* Augustan History, "Carinus." No Roman lavished so much art and expence on the hunting of wild beasts as Carinus. Gibbon, Ch. XII.

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† DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 3.

(MEDALS FOR TRIUMPHS IN BRITAIN.)

No.

28 *Claudius.*—A triumphal arch at Colchester. (Found at Littleborough).

29 *Uncertain.*—This is probably a head of Claudius, to whom, as well as to his son, the senate had decreed the surname Britannicus. Adminius or Etiminius was son of Cunobeline king of Britain. His father gave him part of his kingdom. Coins have been found at Colchester, with this inscription, Μητρώπολις Ἐτιμινίς Βασιλέως. He was expelled, and fled to Caligula. Ainsworth. "Etiminius." (This medal was found at Littleborough). It is highly probable that Claudius espoused his cause.

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The Romans deplored the loss of an island so valuable for its rich mines, temperate climate, corn, abundant pastures, wealth, and convenient harbours. Carausius supported his rebellion with ability. The British Emperor invited from the continent skilful artists in great

30 *Antoninus Pius.*—(Found at Littleborough).

31 *The same.*—(Found in Leicestershire). The two, by the dates, are for different occasions.

32 *Commodus.*—(Found at Littleborough).

EMPERORS OF BRITAIN.

33 *Carausius* (Silver).—Reverse, Temple at Granta. R. S. R. Reipublicæ Securitas Restituta. Haym. Vol. II. Plate XXVII. *Carausius* was assassinated in the Temple of Bellona at York. (In the possession of the Duke of Devonshire). In this Emperor's reign there were struck in Britain about three hundred *different* coins and medals.

34 *The same.* (Silver).—Reverse, a lion. LEG IIII. The fourth legion was appointed to go to Syria, but joined the rebel. Carausius brought lions with him from Africa. M. S. R. Moneta Signata Rigoduni. Coined at Richlechester, or Richmond, Yorkshire. Haym. Vol. II. Plate XXVII. (Mr. Bardon).

35 *The same.*—Reverse, a ram. LEG VIII. The eighth legion joined Carausius. M. L. Moneta Londinensis. Haym. Vol. I. p. 289. (Lord Winchelsea).

36 *Sylvius.*—The head, is his father Carausius, with whom he was co-emperor, See Haym. Vol. I, p. 287, who *conjectures* that this reverse represents a son or nephew, not being acquainted with the fact of Carausius having a son. (Lord Winchelsea).

37 *Allectus.* (Silver).—(Found in London). Very rare. Haym. Vol. II. Plate XXVII. (Duke of Devonshire.)

38 *The same.*—Q. L. Quinti Libertus vel Liberta. Ainsworth. This would not accord with Allectus, if the history be correct, which assigns him two or three years only. (Found at Chesterton).

39 *Helena.*—I at first imagined this to be a coin of the wife of the British Emperor, Maximus; but Camden says it is of Helena, Empress of Constantius Chlorus, and mother of Constantine the Great: she is by some said to have been a Briton: as the other Helena *certainly* was, that circumstance may have given rise to the error. (Found at Chesterton).

It is to be observed, that, on some of the medals, the words are not rightly spelt. As they are copied from engravings, it is possibly the fault of the first publisher: even the Romans are not correct or uniform in this respect.

numbers: he displayed his taste and his opulence in a great variety of elegant coins, still extant. Born in Brabant, he courted the Franks, imitated their dress and manners, and enlisted their bravest youths in his army and navy. Carausius kept possession of Boulogne and the adjacent country. His fleets commanded the mouths of the Seine and the Rhine, and ravaged the coasts of the ocean. The Romans had prepared a new armament, which was commanded by Maximian*; but the superior power and skill of Carausius, in a sea-fight off the Isle of Wight, baffled it; and Dioclesian and his colleague reluctantly resigned to Carausius the sovereignty of Britain.

The British Emperor returned by way of Sorbiodunum, (Old Sarum), to London, which he entered in an ovation, or lesser triumph, and, on the 25th of December, celebrated the horse-races to Mithras. He declared his son Sylvius *Princeps Juventutis*, and President of the Trojan games; and the next year, (290), named him Cæsar. He proceeded to York and Catterick, subdued the Scots and Picts, repaired the Prætentura of Antoninus in Scotland, and built seven castles there. He also built a triumphal arch, and a circular house of stone, on the banks of the Carron.

In the year 291, Carausius constituted a senate in Britain; and, on the 27th May, he celebrated the LII. Capitoline Agon†.

The Ceangi were defeated in a battle near Bath: Carausius was accompanied by his Empress Orivna, and his son Sylvius, who was soon afterwards created Augustus, and partner in the empire.

In the year 292, the city of Granta, on the north side of Cambridge, was built, and in it a Temple "Romæ Æternæ." Many Roman roads

* Maximian had had some success in Britain, for which he had a triumph.—Bernard, Vol. II. p. 346.

† This feast was for poets, orators, historians, comedians, musicians, athletæ, &c. —See Rees's Cyc. "Capitoline."

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were made, leading from the city. On the 7th of September, the Emperor celebrated the Quinquennalia*, (the origin of Sturbech or Sturbridge fair). In October, the temple at Granta was dedicated, and many coins on that occasion were struck. (In this Emperor's reign, there were struck in Britain about three hundred *different* medals and coins.) In this month there were fairs at York and Boroughbridge; at the latter, the corn boats arrived by the rivers and artificial canals.

Carausius sailed, with a powerful fleet, into the Mediterranean, to excite the Africans in his favor, and gained the advantage, while at sea, over the fleet commanded by Constantine Chlorus; he returned on the 19th of October, celebrated the Secular games†; and having brought lions with him from Africa, he exhibited them among his other magnificent shows. On May-day, 295, the Emperor celebrated the Floral games in the temple of Rome at Granta ‡. Afterwards, the LIII. Capitoline Agon were celebrated in the Temple of Bellona, at York §.

Constantius was preparing a large fleet, and assumed the conduct of the war. He raised a stupendous mole across the entrance of the harbour and town of Boulogne; and a considerable number of ves-

* In honour of the deified Emperors.

† These games continued three days and three nights: the people sacrificed to Jupiter, Juno, Diana, Ceres, &c. They marked out a place which served for a theatre, which was illuminated with an immense number of fires and flambeaus. Hymns were sung to Jupiter in Greek and Latin. Theatrical shows were exhibited, with combats and sports in the circus.—Kennet's Roman Antiquities, p. 299. Rees's Cyc. "Secular Games."

‡ At the celebratiou of the games in honour of the Goddess Flora, Galba entertained the people with a new sight of elephants walking upon ropes.—Suetonius, Ch. VI. It is said that Carinus also exhibited elephants dancing on ropes on these occasions.—See Rees's Cyc. "Florales Ludi."

§ Stukely. History of Carausius, Vol. II. p. 170.

sels surrendered: he also detached the Franks from the interests of Carausius.

The British Emperor was murdered, in the temple of Bellona, at York, by his first minister, Allectus, in whom he had placed the most implicit confidence*. The assassin usurped the power of his master, but was of very inferior abilities.

When Constantius had fully prepared the very large army and fleet which he had collected upon the opposite coast, he divided his force: it was so considerable, that he had required three years to perfect it. The principal squadron, under the command of the præfect Asclepiodotus, captain of the prætorian guards, ventured to sail, on a stormy day, and with a side wind, from the mouth of the Seine. The fleet of Allectus was stationed off the Isle of Wight, to receive the enemy: but, under cover of a thick fog, Asclepiodotus succeeded in landing the imperial troops on the western coast, and immediately reduced his fleet to ashes.

Allectus had posted himself near London, to await the attack of Constantius; but, on receiving this unwelcome intelligence, after a precipitate and long march, he encountered the præfect's whole force, with a small body of fatigued and disheartened troops; many of whom were foreign hirelings, chiefly Franks. Throwing off his purple robe, that it might not betray him, Allectus rushed desperately into the battle, and was quickly slain, with small loss to the Romans, but great slaughter among the soldiers of the usurper.

The body of Allectus was found in the field of battle, almost naked. Those Franks who had survived, fled to London, in order to pillage that city, and then make their escape by sea; but a part of the Roman army, which had been divided from the rest by a mist at sea, ar-

* Aurelius Victor.

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riving opportunely, pursued the Franks through the streets, and killed a great number of them *.

When Constantius landed upon the shores of Kent, he found them covered with obedient subjects, who rejoiced to be restored to the Roman empire, after a separation of ten years. Asclepiodotus is said to have usurped the purple, and to have been killed in a battle, leaving Constantius master of Britain. "O, invincible Cæsar!" exclaims the historian, "Britain, and the glory of the naval power of Rome, are restored." (A. D. 297 †).

THE ROMAN POWER RESTORED.

A.D. 297. Constantius administered the affairs of his department, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, with moderation, clemency, and ability; winning the hearts of his subjects in those three provinces ‡. Dioclesian and Maximian, having both resigned the purple on the same day, (May 1,) Constantius and Galerius assumed the title of Augustus, (A.D. 304). Some commotions in Britain required the presence of the Emperor; and he crossed the sea, accompanied by his son Constantine, then thirty years of age, and proceeded to York. An easy victory over the Caledonians was the last exploit of this Emperor, who ended his life at York, the 25th of July, 306. Constantius died in the imperial palace; where, on his royal bed, he took leave of his children. The funeral rites of the deceased monarch were performed with the utmost magnificence.

* See Augustan History, Vol. II. p. 343; Stow, Vol. I. p. 6; Milton, 8vo. p. 105.

† See Henry, Hist. Eng. Vol. II. p. 277; Dr. Stukeley; Gibbon, Ch. XIII. Bernard, Vol. II. p. 346; and Rapin. There is much contrariety in the dates during this defection. By the Chronology of the Augustan History, Carausius revolted in 286, and was killed in 292; and Britain was regained by Constantius in 295.

‡ Constantius generally resided in Britain. — Zosimus, p. 40.

An infinite number of people, assisting with dances, songs, and loud acclamations, congratulated his ascension to the Gods.

The flower of the western armies had followed Constantius into Britain; and the national troops were reinforced by a numerous body of Allemanni. Constantine was, by the legions, saluted Augustus and Emperor. While he remained at York, the British soldiers, in Roman pay, presented the new Emperor with a golden ball, as an emblem of his sovereignty over Britain. On his conversion to Christianity, Constantine placed a cross upon it: and it has become the sign of majesty *. After four years' absence, this monarch revisited Britain †. A. D. 311.

During the reign of Constantine the Great, Britain enjoyed profound tranquillity; it was subject to the præfect of Gaul, and was governed by a deputy under him. Isca (Caerleon) was now, by a new arrangement of Britain, made a third capital, and became a great and important city; splendid palaces with gilded roofs, a temple, a theatre, an amphitheatre, and other stately edifices, made it emulate the grandeur of Rome ‡.

In the latter period of the Emperor's reign, his son Constantine was governor of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. He built a wall round London. (See Medal, No. 26 §).

* Drake's "York," pp. 43, 45. Gibbon, Ch. XIV.

† Constantine raised an army among the Germans and Celts, which, with the forces he drew from Britain, amounted to ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse.

‡ Rees's Cyc. "Caerleon."

§ Camden says, that he erected some structures at London. Gough, in a note, says, that the coin is generally referred to the Castra Prætoria at Rome; but this appears very improbable. After the massacre in the reign of Nero, a wall of stone and brick had been built round London, which, in above two centuries, probably required improving. There was not an efficient wall to keep the Franks from entering and pillaging London when Allectus was defeated, if they entered not by

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Constantine the Great died in the year 337, leaving three sons, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius. The first was killed in a battle against the second, in 340, when the western division was in the government of Constans, who, accompanied by Constantius, visited Britain, and landed at Sandwich *. Constans was murdered in his bed by Magnensius, governor of Rhætia, at Autun, in Gaul; and, at his death, the whole empire was possessed by Constantius. He sent to Britain one Paulus, a notary, who committed numerous extortions. Martinus, the governor, remonstrated against such unjust proceedings. Paulus replied, that his opposing the execution of the Emperor's orders, could proceed only from a spirit of rebellion: he even accused Martinus of having been concerned in the revolt of Magnentius. The indignant and enraged governor struck at Paulus with his sword, but, missing his blow, he plunged it into his own breast. The merciless Paulus now condemned to death, banishment, or imprisonment, all who resisted his will, without ever being restrained by the Emperor.

A. D. 360. He was afterwards burnt alive.

The Western Empire, Britain included, was now under Julian, (the apostate): he sent a body of troops under the command of Lupicilius

A.D. 362. to oppose the ravages of the Scots and Picts. On his arrival in London he was recalled; the enemy having submitted.

In the reign of Valentinian the First, the Attacotti, (a tribe of Caledonians, accused of delighting in the taste of human flesh*), the Picts,

stratagem. Stow says, (p. 7), that the Empress Helena built the wall, A. D. 306. There is every probability that it was finished by Constantine, junior.

* See Milton, 8vo. p. 107.

† " The Attacotti, the enemies, and afterwards the soldiers of Valentinian, are accused by Jerom, an eye-witness, (whose veracity I find no reason to question), of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said, that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock; and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts, both of males and females,

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Scots, Franks, and Saxons, all, either by accident or common league, invaded the Roman province by sea and land at once, and made great ravages. Every production of art and nature, every object of convenience or luxury, was accumulated in the rich and fruitful province of Britain. Severus and Jovinus successively endeavoured in vain to stop the fury of these inroads. At length, Valentinian sent Theodosius to command in Britain. The two military commanders of the province had been surprised and cut off by the barbarians: and every messenger that escaped to the continent, conveyed the most alarming tidings. A person named Valentinian had been banished to Britain, and endeavoured to render himself absolute about this period, but was soon deprived of his hopes and his life *.

The nomination of so great a general as Theodosius, (the father of a line of Emperors), was deemed by the army and the province, a sure presage of approaching victory: the new governor landed at Sandwich, A.D. 367.

which they prepared for their horrid repasts. If in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate, in the period of the Scottish history, the extremes of savage and civilized life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas; and to encourage the pleasing hope, that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the Southern hemisphere. The bands of Attacotti which Jerom had seen *in Gaul*, were afterwards stationed in Italy and Illyricum." Gibbon, Ch. XXV.—Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the Attacotti, but does not say any thing about their being cannibals. Could such a remarkable fact have existed and not have been noticed by Tacitus, or any other Roman historian? Agricola's line of forts, and the ramparts of Antoninus, were in the neighbourhood of Glasgow; and Roman garrisons, of numbers of troops, were stationed there: that neighbourhood was, consequently, well known, and it is quite incredible that such a horrid custom could have escaped especial and notorious remark. This charge against the Attacotti had scarcely been worth notice, were it not sanctioned by such authority as Gibbon: but as it stands solely on the assertion of a bigoted passionate controversialist, it is not worthy of belief.

* Zosimus, p. 100.

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and marched to London, (A.D. 367), with his numerous and veteran bands: the citizens threw open their gates.

The desultory warfare of the barbarians who infested the land and sea, deprived Theodosius of a signal victory: but his consummate art and prudence, displayed in two campaigns, rescued the province from the cruel and rapacious enemy. Theodosius entered London in triumph. The splendour of London and of the other cities, and the security of the fortifications, were restored.

The Caledonians were confined to their northern region, above the Frith of Forth; and the territory south of that, down to the Tyne, was named *Valentia*, to perpetuate the glories of the reign of Valentinian: and to the city of London was given the name of Augusta.

Theodosius returned to the continent with the highest reputation for prudence, justice, vigour, and clemency; and his great merit was rewarded by the Emperor with applause and without envy.

Britain was now divided into five provinces, and a governor was appointed to each of them.

In the reign of Gratian and Valentinian II. on the Picts and Scots beginning to threaten hostility, Maximus, a Spaniard of distinction, was invested with the command in Britain *. He designed to subject the whole island to the dominion of the Romans; but finding the union of the Scots and Picts a great obstacle to the execution of his project, he feigned to be exasperated against the Scots, as the sole cause of the troubles in Britain; and persuaded the Picts to join their forces to his, on the promise of giving them the lands of the Scots. His artifice succeeded. The Scots being thus overpowered, were forced to fly to Ireland and the adjacent isles. Maximus permitted

* Gibbon does not allow that Maximus was either governor, or a general. See Rapin, and Gibbon, Ch. XXVII. and Milton, 8vo, p. 111.

the Picts to take possession of the new conquests; when affairs of higher importance to himself diverted his attention.

The two Emperors associated as a third, Theodosius, the son of the general who had commanded with such distinguished renown in Britain. Maximus, highly jealous and affronted at not having been preferred to Theodosius, resolved to assume the imperial dignity. To forward his project, he intended to gain the friendship and confidence of the Picts; and, leaving the island in peace, to wage war against the three Emperors. In the mean time, the Scots, assisted by the Irish, invaded the north, and Maximus was obliged to head his troops against them. They were defeated and driven back to Ireland: and on Maximus threatening to invade that country, and punish the Irish, the fear they had of the presence of a Roman army, induced them to grant Maximus his own terms, which, in order to conciliate all parties, were moderate.

Maximus had long resided in Britain, and is said to have married Helena, daughter of Eudda, a wealthy nobleman of Caersegont, (Caernarvon)*. He was a person of acknowledged abilities and integrity; born in Spain, the countryman, fellow-soldier in Britain, and rival of Theodosius.

MAXIMUS, EMPEROR OF BRITAIN.

The legions in Britain had long been famous for a spirit of presumption and arrogance. Both the soldiers and provincials proclaimed Maximus Emperor. (A.D. 382).

Gratian, Emperor of the *West* had degraded himself in the eyes of

* See Pennant's Tour in Wales, Vol. II. Carte's Hist. of Eng. Vol. I.

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A.D. 382.

the Romans by neglecting the duties of a sovereign and a general. The skill which he had attained in the management of a horse, and the dexterity with which he could dart a javelin and draw a bow, had inspired him with an ardent passion for the chace. Large parks were enclosed for the imperial pleasures, and plentifully stocked with *every species of wild beasts.* A body of the Alana was received into the domestic and military service of the palace, and the admirable skill which they had been accustomed to display in the unbounded plains of Scythia, was exercised in the parks and enclosures of Gaul.

Gratian, in admiration of the talents and customs of these favorite guards, assumed the fur dress, the bow, and the quiver, of a Scythian warrior. Even the Germans affected to disdain the strange appearance of these savages of the north, who had wandered from the regions of the Volga to the banks of the Seine*. The unworthy spectacle of a Roman prince, who had renounced the dress of his country, filled the legions with grief and indignation.

Maximus could not hope to reign by confining his ambition to Britain. The youth of the island crowded to his standard; and he invaded Gaul with a fleet and army, which were long afterwards remembered as a considerable part of the British nation†.

The Emperor was, in his peaceful residence of Paris, idly wasting his darts on lions and bears. The armies of Gaul received Maximus

* Gibbon's Roman Empire, Ch. XXVII. Zosimus, B. IV.

† According to Archbishop Usher, the whole emigration consisted of thirty thousand soldiers, and one hundred thousand plebeians, who settled in Bretagne. Their destined brides, St. Ursula, with eleven thousand noble, and sixty thousand plebeian virgins, mistook their way, and arrived at Cologne, where they were murdered by the Huns.—Gibbon, Ch. XXVII. Lady M. W. Montague writes to Lady Rich from Cologne, August 16th, 1716: "I was very well satisfied to see, piled up to the honour of our nation, the skulls of eleven thousand virgins."—Ed. 1803, Vol. II. p. 13.

with loyal and joyful acclamations. The Mauritanian cavalry were the first who saluted him Augustus: and the troops of the palace abandoned the standard of Gratian, the first time it was displayed, in the neighbourhood of Paris. A.D. 383.

The Emperor of the West fled, with three hundred horse, towards Lyons. All the cities upon the road shut their gates against him; but he might have reached the dominions of his brother Valentinian, had he not been deceived by the perfidious governor of the Lyonese province, who amused him with protestations of doubtful fidelity, till the arrival of Andragathius, general of the cavalry of Maximus, who executed, without remorse, the intentions of the British usurper. Gratian, as he rose from supper, was delivered into the hands of the assassin, (August 25th, 383). His death was followed by that of his powerful general, Mellobaudes, the king of the Franks. After these executions, the power of Maximus was acknowledged by all the provinces of the west.

The British Emperor sent his principal chamberlain to the Eastern Emperor; and the choice of a venerable old man, for an office which was usually exercised by eunuchs, announced to the court of Constantinople, the gravity and temperance of the British usurper. The ambassador condescended to justify or excuse the conduct of his master, and protested, in specious language, that the murder of Gratian had been perpetrated without his consent, by the precipitate zeal of the soldiers. The speech of the ambassador concluded with a spirited declaration, that though Maximus, as a Roman, and as a father of his people, would chuse rather to employ his forces in the common defence of the republic; he was prepared, if his friendship should be rejected, to dispute, in a field of battle, the Empire of the World. An immediate and peremptory answer was required.

The imperious voice of honour and gratitude called aloud for re-

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venge; but the most weighty considerations engaged Theodosius to dissemble his resentment; and he accepted the alliance of Maximus. He stipulated that Valentinian, the brother of Gratian, should be confirmed in the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and western Illyricum; and that Maximus should content himself with the countries beyond the Alps.

A.D. 387. The aspiring Maximus, who might have reigned in peace over the empire of Britain, Gaul, and Spain; having employed the wealth which he had extorted from those three provinces in raising and maintaining a formidable army, collected from the fiercest nations of Germany, passed the Alps, invaded Italy, and seized Milan. Valentinian and his mother, the Empress Justina, a lady of extraordinary beauty, with her daughter, Galla, embarked with precipitation on board a vessel, and reached a port in Thessalonica.

Theodosius equipped a powerful fleet in the harbours of Greece and Epirus; while he himself marched at the head of a brave and disciplined army, to encounter his unworthy rival; who, after the siege of Æmona, had fixed his camp near Siscia, a city of Pannonia, strongly fortified by the broad and rapid stream of the Save*.

Theodosius possessed the advantage of a numerous cavalry. The Huns, the Alani, and the Goths, were formed into squadrons of

* Zosimus, who was bigoted to the ancient Pagan religion, and hated Theodosius, who was a Christian, wishes to make it appear that he would have divided the empire with Maximus; but that Justina, to urge Theodosius to revenge the death of her son Gratian, introduced into his presence her daughter Galla, who was remarkably beautiful, and was in tears for the loss of her brother. Justina soon perceived the effect of Galla's beauty on the Emperor, who gave them favorable hopes. In a few days, Theodosius requested Justina to grant him her daughter, (his wife Platilla was dead), but she refused, unless he would make war on Maximus. Being thus excited by his passion for Galla, he not only conciliated the soldiers by augmenting their pay, but he was thus roused from his negligence in other affairs that would require attention after his departure.—Zosimus, p. 121.

archers; who fought on horseback, and confounded the steady valour of the Germans and Gauls, by the rapid motions of a Tartar war. They spurred their foaming horses into the Save, swam across in face of the enemy upon the opposite bank, charged and routed them. Marcellinus, the brother of Maximus, with the select strength of the army, the next morning renewed the contest; but after a sharp conflict, the remaining brave troops of Maximus threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror. A.D. 388.

Theodosius pursued his vanquished foe, in order to finish the war by the death or captivity of his rival, who fled before him; and on the evening of the first day, such was his incredible speed, he had passed the Julian Alps, and reached Aquileia; Maximus having scarcely time to shut the gates of the city. They were quickly forced, and the wretched Emperor, rudely stripped of his Imperial robe, diadem, and purple slippers, was dragged to the camp and presence of Theodosius; who was inclined to pity and forgive his fallen rival: but public justice and the memory of Gratian, induced him to abandon the victim to the soldiers, who drew him away from the Imperial presence, and instantly beheaded him. Victor, the son of Maximus, on whom the title of Augustus had been bestowed, was also put to death by the order of Arbogastes. Maximus had learnt that Theodosius had sent Justina with Valentinian and Galla to Rome, by sea; knowing that Romans would receive them with pleasure, because they were disaffected to Maximus. The British Emperor collected a number of swift sailing ships, and sent them to cruise in every direction; but the commander, Adragathius, failed of his purpose, they having crossed the Ionian sea. When the intelligence of the death of Maximus reached Adragathius, he instantly drowned himself.

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A.D. 388.

ROMAN POWER RESTORED.

Theodosius passed the winter at Milan, restoring the mischiefs caused by the civil war; and in the spring made his triumphal entry into the ancient capital of the Roman empire *.

During the life of Theodosius, Britain remained in peace. This great Emperor died of a dropsy at Milan, January 17th, 395, after having, on the morning of that day, made a painful effort to contribute to the public joy, by his presence at a splendid exhibition of the games and spectacles of the circus, to welcome the arrival of Honorius, who, with his brother Arcadius, succeeded to the Empire.

A.D. 395. Honorius was very young, and the famous Stilico was appointed by Theodosius regent during the minority. Stilico's first care was, to send a governor with a legion, into Britain, to curb the insolence of the Picts, who began to make inroads into the Roman province. Stilico for this purpose made choice of Victorinus, a person of a fierce and arrogant temper. He confined the Picts strictly within their limits, treated them as subjects of the empire, and even forbade them to crown another king in the room of Hungust, who had just died. The Picts finding their liberty in danger, regretted the loss of the assistance of the Scots, as on former occasions; they therefore resolved to recal them: to which end they sent an honourable embassy to Fergus †, a prince of the blood royal of Scotland, who had retired to Denmark; and invited him to come and take possession of the country.

* Zosimus, B. IV.

† Fergus the Second; he died in 404.

Fergus accepted the offer, and made his intentions known, that he was ready to lead back the fugitive Scots. CHAP. XIII.

In the mean time, the troubles which existed in the Roman empire had obliged Stilico to recal Victorinus and his legions. At this juncture the Scots entered the island, under the command of Fergus, who was unanimously chosen their king.

Fergus, at the head of the Scots and Picts, after taking the fortresses built by Theodosius, (the father of the Emperor), advanced to Severus's wall, which was weakly defended; entered the Roman province, and laid waste the country.

Since the subjection of Britain to Rome so many Roman and foreign families had settled there, and were now so mixed with the natives, that they made but one people, and from this period the term Britons is applied to this mixed nation, all having a common interest.

EMPERORS OF BRITAIN ELECTED.

The Britons, despairing of any effectual assistance from Rome, resolved to elect an Emperor whose interest it should be to protect them. Their choice fell on an officer named Marcus, a person much esteemed by them. But Marcus not having the good fortune to please all the world, was soon slain, and another, named Gratian, was presented with a diadem and a purple robe. Four months after his election, Gratian, being of a cruel and bloody disposition, met the same fate. A.D. 408.

The next who was raised to the imperial dignity, was a common soldier, in consequence of the good fortune supposed to be attached to his name, which was Constantine. Being a man of courage, and of

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a genius far above his former condition, Constantine drove back the Northern invaders, and concluded a treaty of peace with them.

From this success, the fortunate soldier's ambition was inflamed with the desire to become master of the Roman Empire. He formed an army of the islanders; and the remaining Romans passed over the sea, landed at Boulogne; and his title was acknowledged by those cities in Gaul which were still free.

While Constantine was preparing his army at Orleans, where he resided, he sent ambassadors to Honorius, who was at that juncture attacked by Alaric, king of the Goths, to acquaint him of his being chosen Emperor by Britain, and to excuse his acceptation of that dignity without the knowledge of Honorius. The Emperor, being so pressed by the Goths, was forced to acknowledge Constantine as his associate in the Empire. This condescension on the part of Honorius, so far from satisfying, served only to inspire this new Emperor with still higher views. He sent for his son, Constans, who was in a monastery at Winchester; and associating him in power with the title of Cæsar, and leaving him in the command of an army to maintain his authority, Constantine marched towards the Alps, in order to invade Italy and dethrone Honorius. On his arrival at the Pyrenees, Constantine was opposed by four brothers, kinsmen of Honorius, who, from a spirit of family zeal and interest, nobly attempted, with levies hastily collected, at their own expense, to check the invader; but they were utterly defeated by a corps called Honorians, who, for rewards and honours, entered into the service of Constantine. They consisted of about five thousand Scots, Gallicani, Moors, and Marcomanni. Two of the brothers escaped by sea, and the other two, who with their wives had been captured, after a short suspense, were executed at Arles. Spain submitted.

The title of Constantine was now acknowledged, from the frontier of

Scotland to the Pillars of Hercules. By means of a secret correspondence with the court of Honorius, Constantine extorted a ratification of his claims, engaging himself, by a solemn promise, to deliver Italy from the Goths. He had secured the passes of the Cottian, the Pennine, and the Maritime Alps; and he advanced as far as the Po, but hastily returned to Arles to celebrate, with ostentation and luxury, his vain triumph.

Constans, his son, who was now invested with the imperial purple, commanded in Spain, and during his absence had appointed his bravest general, Gerontius, to govern that province. It was by the able conduct of this officer that Gaul and Spain were subdued. The ungrateful Constantine, jealous of his general's fame, sent orders for his removal from his post.

Gerontius rebelled; but, for some reason not known, he placed the diadem upon the head of a friend, named Maximus, who resided at Tarragona; while he pressed forward through the Pyrenees to surprise the two Emperors, before they could prepare for their defence. The unfortunate Constans was surrounded at Vienne, whence he sallied forth, and rushed upon death; having had scarcely time to deplore his fatal elevation, and the deserting of his peaceful monastic seclusion at Winchester.

The father defended Arles against Gerontius; and that city must have fallen, had not an army from Italy suddenly approached. Both the besieged and the besiegers were confounded. Gerontius, abandoned by his troops, escaped towards Spain. In the night, a great body of his own soldiers, who had been awed by a proclamation, in the name of Honorius, their lawful Emperor, surrounded and attacked his house, which he had barricadoed. His wife, a valiant friend of the nation of the Alani, and some slaves, were with him; and a large

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magazine of darts and arrows were used, with such resolution, that three hundred of the assailants lost their lives.

The missile weapons being spent, the slaves deserted at the dawn of day. The defence was continued; and the soldiers, provoked by such obstinacy, set fire to the house on all sides. In this fatal extremity, Gerontius complied with the request of his barbarian friend, and cut off his head. His wife, Nonnichia, whom he loved, conjured him not to abandon her to despair and disgrace, and eagerly presented her neck to his sword. The tragedy was closed by the unfortunate Gerontius sheathing a dagger in his own heart *. His friend Maximus, after enjoying the phantom of authority a short while, was resigned to the justice of Honorius, and, after being shewn at Ravenna and Rome, was publicly executed.

In the mean while, the British Emperor was besieged in Arles, by the general Constantius: but he had sufficient time to negotiate with the Franks and Alemanni; and his ambassador, Edobic, a Frank by extraction, but a native of Britain, returned at the head of an army, and attacked the besiegers; his troops, by a stratagem, were suddenly surrounded, but their leader escaped from the field of battle to the house of a faithless friend, who too clearly understood how acceptable a present the head of his obnoxious guest would be to the imperial commander. Constantius turned with horror from the assassin of Edobic; and sternly gave his orders, that the camp should no longer be polluted by the presence of a wretch, who had thus treated a friend, who, in his distress, had claimed his protection.

This conduct inspired Constantine, who from the walls of Arles had beheld the destruction of his last hope, with confidence in so

* Gerontius was a Briton.—Zosimus, p. 172.

generous a conqueror. He obtained a solemn promise for his security, and submitted.

A.D. 411.

The abdicated sovereign, his brother Sebastian, and his son Julian, were sent, under a strong guard, into Italy; and, before they reached the palace at Ravenna, they met the ministers of death. (November 28, 411). Thus fell this British Emperor, who, like so many others, proved that ambition and moderation can never exist in the same person.

During the absence of Constantine, the Scots and Picts seized the opportunity to break through the barrier, and ravage the country; on which the Britons assembled in arms, and repelled the invaders. Rejoicing in the discovery of their own strength, they expelled the magistrates who acted under the authority of Constantine, and established a free government. The independence of Britain was confirmed by Honorius.

In the reign of Valentinian III. a Roman legion was sent to the assistance of the Britons, and the northern invaders were confined within the barrier; but necessity caused the recal of this legion to Italy. Gallio, the commander, before he departed, assisted the Britons to repair the wall of Severus; and recommended them to inure themselves to arms.

The Romans had been masters of the island near four centuries, and had never suffered the Britons to be disciplined to the use of arms. It being their policy to employ foreign troops in their conquests, the soldiers levied in Britain were sent into other provinces, and from whence they never returned. These levies were so numerous, that twelve considerable bodies of British soldiers were dispersed throughout the empire, and were always recruited from Britain. If there be added the immense armies, and their followers, who successively accompanied the British emperors Maximus and Constantine,

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to contest the throne with the masters of the world, the weak condition of the island is accounted for. The Romans now bade a final farewel *.

A.D. 427.

Britain became a scene of jealousies, tumults, and contention for power among the nobles, who sought to destroy their rivals. This anarchy and confusion produced their necessary consequence, famine and desolation. Vortigern, the last of these kings or chiefs, fearing the fate of his predecessors, proposed, in a general assembly, to call in the aid of the Saxons, to repel the Scots and Picts. His proposal was accepted with joy. (A. D. 449).

* * * *

Hengist the Saxon carried devastation into the most remote corners of the island: he spared neither age nor sex, nor condition. Temples, palaces, and private edifices were reduced to ashes: priests were slaughtered on the altars; the bishops and the nobility shared the same fate. The people, flying to the mountains, were butchered in heaps; and many took shelter and settled in Armorica with their countrymen. Thus were the towns, colonies, and public buildings suddenly reduced to heaps of ruins, and the whole island desolated by the idolatrous and savage Saxons †.

IMPORTANCE OF BRITAIN TO THE ROMANS.

The private manners and public amusements which prevailed in Roman Britain, are unknown: it is only from occasional allusions

* See Camden, Henry, Rapin, Gibbon, Zosimus, Milton.

† See Hume; and Milton, 8vo, p. 134.

to that country by a few Roman writers, that any thing is to be collected; and then only in times of war. The high value and importance of that island may be estimated by the number of Emperors, or other eminent persons who became Emperors, who visited or reigned in Britain*.

In a short time after the Romans had carried their arms through Britain, they began to apply with vigour to the working of the mines. At first the ore of lead offered itself on the surface, and in such quantities, that in Pliny's time (who died A. D. 79), there was a law, (as in modern times with respect to black lead), limiting the annual produce. Many of the works that we suspect to have been Roman, are very shallow, in form of trenches, through which they pursued the veins. Afterwards, they went as deep as the then known art would permit. "We descend into the very bowels of the earth, and seek riches even in the seat of departed spirits." (Pliny). We find that great fires were used, the rock intensely heated, and cracks formed, by the sudden infusion of water: Pliny says of vinegar. The stone or ore was then forced out by the wedge or pick-axe. Miners often discover the marks of fire in ancient mines.

A little wedge, in the possession of Pennant, was discovered in a deep fissure of Dalar Goch rock, five inches and a quarter long, almost entirely encrusted with lead ore. Pick-axes of an uncommon bulk, and very clumsy, have been discovered in the bottom of the mineral trenches, like the Fractaria, which the Romans used in the gold mines,

* They were Julius Cæsar.—Claudius.—Vespasian.—Titus.—Adrian.—Pertinax.—Clodius Albinus, elected in Britain.—Severus, who died at York.—Caracalla.—Geta.—Maximian.—Carausius and Silvius, co-emperors of Britain.—Allectus, Emperor of Britain.—Constantius, who died at York.—Constantine the Great, proclaimed at York.—Constans.—Constantine Junior.—Theodosius the Great.—Maximus.—Marcus.—Gratian.—Constantine. The four last were Emperors of Britain.

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in Spain. Buckets of singular construction, and other things of uses unknown at present, have been found among the ancient mines.

The labourers worked by stems, night and day, by the light of lamps: they drove levels, sunk shafts, propping the ground as they went on, and pursued the veins by forming drifts; and, finally, they had pumps which flung up the water from the greatest depths.

The ore was cleansed according to the modern method, smelted in a furnace, and cast into forms nearly resembling the common pigs of lead. One has been dug up in Hints common, in Staffordshire, twenty-two and a half inches long, and one hundred and fifty pounds weight, marked IMP. × VESP × $\overline{\text{VII}}$ × T × IMP. × $\overline{\text{V}}$ × COS. which answers to the year 75. In 1731, two of the same kind were discovered on Hayshaw moor, near Ripley, in Yorkshire, cast in the year 87, inscribed Imperatore Cæsare Domitiano, &c. and the word *Brig.* signifying that it came from the country of the Brigantes.

Twenty similar pieces were found near Halton in Cheshire, marked IMP DOMIT AUG. C. DE CEANG. &c. some of them certainly from the Cangi of Derbyshire. A mass of lead was found near Wokey Hole, in Somersetshire, inscribed to Claudius, about the year 50.

The Romans appear to have been well versed in metallurgy; and to have had regular smelting houses. The Britons, before their conquest by the Romans, had a very simple but effectual process; for the most metal that can now be procured from a ton of their slags, is but about one hundred and fifty pounds *.

The Romans formed, in the tin province, camps and roads still visible. Vases, urns, sepulchres, and coins, exhibit daily proofs of their having been a stationary people in Cornwall †. The tin was melted, purified, cast into rows of cubes, carried to the Isle of Wight, (Ictis),

* Pennant's Tour in Wales, Vol. I. p. 61. † Borlace, Antiq. p. 278.

exported to Gaul, and carried a journey of thirty days upon horses' backs, to the mouth of the Rhone; and then to the Massilians (Marseilles) and the town of Narbonne. With the tin the Romans formed mirrors, lined their brass utensils, made pewter, and, by the combination of other metals, a substance which imitated silver.

The Romans had founderies of copper in Britain; a mass, in shape like a cake of bees' wax, was found at Conovium, (Caer-hen, four miles above Conway) deeply impressed with the words "SOCIO ROMÆ," and across it "Natsol," weight, forty-two pounds.

Remains of brass founderies are discovered; which prove that Calamine, which abounds in the island, was known to the Romans. It was imported from Sweden before Elizabeth's reign, when mines of it were again discovered in the Mendip hills.

Beds of iron cinders, the reliques of the Romans, are found in the forest of Dean; others in Monmouthshire; another near Miskin, beneath which was a coin of Antoninus Pius, and a piece of earthenware; others in Yorkshire, accompanied with coins. The beds of cinders are supposed to be almost inexhaustible, and are now worked over again; they yield a more kindly metal than the ore.

Gold and Silver are enumerated, by Strabo, among the products of Britain. The Britons coined gold and silver before the arrival of the Romans. There are coins of Cassivelaunus; and thirty-nine different ones, of Cunobeline, whose capital was Colchester. This British king had been at Rome. After their acquaintance with the Romans, the Britons engraved letters, *elephants* and gryphons, on their coins. Several rings, instruments of sacrifice, buttons, forceps, and ornaments of dress, of gold, silver, and brass, with numerous fragments of others, have been found near Flint*.

* See Pennant's Tour in Wales, Vol. I.

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The revenues in Britain were sufficient to support those generals who assumed the imperial dignity, without any other income. If Lipsius's calculation be just, they amounted to two millions sterling*. The Emperor Julian, having, on the banks of the Rhine, built eight hundred small vessels, sent them to Britain for corn (A. D. 361). They returned to the Rhine; and the corn was sent up that river for the winter support, and for sowing their lands in spring†. This was so often repeated, that the supply was abundant.

The route from Italy to Britain was up the Rhone, as far as it was navigable: thence, over land to the Seine, and across the Channel. The general trade from the continent into Britain was carried on, chiefly, from the mouths of the Rhine, Loire, Garonne, and Seine; where merchants and agents resided. Bull-dogs, for baiting of bulls, mastiffs, and beagles, were exported to Rome‡.

Under the protection of the Romans, ninety-two considerable towns had arisen in the several parts of Britain, thirty-three of which were distinguished, above the rest, by superior privileges and importance§. Every Roman colony, (of which there were nine), and free city, was a little Rome, adorned with temples, palaces, halls, basilicks, baths, and many fine buildings, both for use and ornament. This magnificence charmed and engaged the conquered to imitate the pleasures and vices of the Romans. The Britons became such excellent architects and artificers, that Constantius sent workmen from Britain to rebuild Autun in Gaul‖.

* Dr. Henry, Vol. I. 359. † Zosimus, p. 70.

‡ Henry, Vol. II. p. 224.—Oysters were exported to Italy.

——— He (Montanus) could tell
At the first relish, if his oysters fed
At the Rutupian (Richborough) or the Lucrine bed.
Juvenal, Sat. IV.

§ Gibbon, Vol. III. p. 275. ‖ Dr. Henry, Vol. II. p. 121.

Four or more amphitheatres are still discoverable. Two noble ones at Dorchester and Silchester. A good one at Caerleon, which was a splendid and considerable place: and at Richborough a Castrensian amphitheatre of turf, for the diversion of the garrison. There must also have been a circus or amphitheatre at York. (See page 313).

There are other remains of buildings in various parts, that probably served for the same purpose as the amphitheatres*.

Two large baths were discovered at Chester; one of them supported by thirty-two pillars, two feet ten inches high; the other more extensive†. Chester and Colchester furnish very numerous Roman remains. There are more in and about Colchester than any where in South Britain. Westward of the town, there are strong intrenchments, the supposed remains of the castra, castella, and præsidia, formed about this place, according to Tacitus‡. The tessellated pavements are generally three to four feet under the surface. A large bath was discovered at Lincoln, in 1740, at the depth of thirteen feet. The very numerous and beautiful tessellated pavements found all over England, attest the sumptuous and elegant stile in which the Romans lived. "It may seem strange that there are not many nobler testimonies of Roman grandeur to be seen at York; no ruins of temples, amphitheatres, palaces, public baths, &c. whose edifices must have made that city shine as bright almost as Rome itself. The wonder will cease, when the reader sees, in the sequel, such terrible burnings, devastations, and horrid destruction of every thing sacred or profane§.

There are four principal Roman ways in England. I. Watling-street||, leading from Dover to London, Dunstable, Towcester, At-

* See Chap. on Amphitheatres. † Pennant's Wales, Vol. I. p. 115.

‡ Morant's Essex. § Drake's York, p. 55.

|| So named from Vitellianus, who projected it, and whose name was pro-

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terston, and the Severn, near the Wrekin in Shropshire, and extending as far as Anglesea in Wales.

II. Ikeneld-street, leading from Southampton, over the river Isis at Newbridge, thence by Campden and Litchfield, then passes the Derwent near Derby, so to Bolsover castle, and ends at Tinmouth.

III. One called Fosse-way, (because in some places it was never perfected, but lies as a large ditch), leads from Cornwall through Devonshire, by Tetbury near Stow in the Wolds, and on the side of Coventry to Leicester, Newark, and so to Lincoln.

IV. Erminage-street, stretches from St. David's in West Wales to Southampton*.

There were numerous other provincial roads: from York, in particular, there was a road to Whitby, another to Stockton, one to Flamborough, near Bridlington Bay, one to Petuaria, (by South Cave), a Roman station; one to Aldborough, (the capital of the Brigantes), to Bernard-castle, and other places†.

nounced by the Britons Gwetalin.—Camden, Vol. I. p. xlvii. Many Roman milestones have been found near these roads.

* Rees's Cyclop. "Way." † Map by Bowen, Geographer to the King.

CHAPTER XIV.

Remains of Elephants and Wild Beasts, found in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

IN Grays-inn Lane, London, a tusk of an elephant, at the depth of twelve feet, in gravel.

Note.—This place was not a mile from Londinium. Cæsar's intrenchments are still visible at the bottom of this lane, and the place is called *Battle* Bridge. (Stukeley, Itin. Cur. Vol. II. p. 5). Cæsar, we have seen, had at least one large elephant when he crossed the Thames.

* * * *

" In 1689, in a gravel pit, not far from the sign of Sir John Oldcastle, Mr. Conyers, a great antiquary, discovered the carcass of an elephant. I saw part of it dug out, and what remained he bought of the workmen. This he was of opinion had not lain there ever since the flood, but since the Romans; for in the time of Claudius, as mentioned by the learned Selden in Drayton's Polyolbion, near this place a battle was fought between the Britons and Romans; for in the same pit he found the head of a British spear made of flint." Selections from the Gent's. Mag. Vol. I. p. 429.

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* * * *

" Dr. Woodward, (in his letter to Sir Christopher Wren), acquaints us, that he had in his collection tusks of boars, horns of oxen and of stags, as also the representation of deer, and even of Diana herself, upon the sacrificing vessels dug up near St. Paul's church, and likewise a small image of that goddess, found at no great distance. From ancient writers, it appears that not only stags, but oxen, were sacrificed to Diana. An ancient MS. in the Cotton library, informs us, that in the time of Melitus, the first bishop of London, Ethelbert, king of Kent, built a church to the honour of St. Paul, on the site where before stood a temple of Diana: and there were also certain ceremonies performed at this church on the day of St. Paul's conversion, by the multitude, which evidently alluded to the worship of Diana: and manors were held by the service of offering a doe, or buck and doe, at the high altar of the church, on the above-mentioned day. A ceremony of this kind was continued to the time of queen Elizabeth." Jortin's Life of Erasmus, Rees's Encyc. " Diana."

* * * *

At Romford, twelve miles east from London, a cart-load of elephants' and rhinoceros's bones were dug up in a field.

Note.—This was the Roman military station of Durolitum, and is on the Roman highway. Dr. Stukeley.

* * * *

" At Ilford, (seven miles east of London), a very large skeleton of a

mammoth, or elephant, was found fourteen feet deep in tenacious clay; and many other tusks and bones." Morning Herald, May 7th, 1824.

At Kew, seven miles west of London, bones of the elephant and stag, and a *great number* of the hippopotamus.

Note.—It may be observed that these remains are found, like others, at the usual distance from cities. Romford was a military post. The Emperor Geta resided in London the three years the Emperors Severus and Caracalla were living at York. Severus was particularly curious in procuring foreign animals. (See Chap. XI.) Wild beasts were no doubt exhibited for private gain in greater numbers by the Romans than in modern times; but the public games must have been exhibited in Britain for three centuries.

* * * *

At Mersey island, Essex, about five miles from Colchester, an entire skeleton of an elephant was found. Selections, Gent.'s Mag. Vol. II. p. 462.

At Harwich, a very beautiful fossil turtle, embedded in a solid block of cement stone. Another large stone of about five hundred weight, when broken, was found to contain nearly the whole of a human skeleton. See Common Sense Newspaper, No. 60.

At Walton, five miles south of Harwich, bones of the elephant, stag, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, and Irish fossil elk* have been found. Parkinson, Vol. III. p. 366.

" Ralph of Coggleshall relates, that giants' teeth were found at the Ness, near Harwich, three hundred and fifty years ago; so large, that

* Remarks on the Irish elk will be seen in Ch. XVIII.

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they would make two hundred teeth of the present species of men." Camden, Vol. II. p. 46.

Note.—Harwich is the port leading to the Roman colony of Camelodunum, (distant twelve miles), where Claudius encamped with three legions; and which place became a Roman city of the first importance. "Cunobeline, the British king, who resided here, had visited the court of Augustus at Rome: thirty-nine of his *different* coins of gold, silver, &c. have been found. Some of the British coins have *elephants* on them." See Pennant's Wales, Vol. I. p. 69; and the plate of coins in Ch. XIII. Claudius remained but sixteen days in Britain; and it is not probable that there were exhibitions during that short period. He was, however, so fond of the combats of beasts in the amphitheatres, that he would pass whole days at those amusements. See Suetonius, Ch. XXXIV. We find among these remains at Harwich the *African* hippopotamus, the *Irish* elk, and it is possible that the elephant or rhinoceros may have been of *Asiatic* origin.

* * * *

At Burton, Sussex, in the park, (1740), at the depth of nine feet, two large and two small tusks, a thigh bone, knee-pan, and grinder, were found. Selections, Gent.'s Mag. II. 460.

* * * *

In the tunnel under Kemp-town, Brighton, bones of the horse and elephant. A rib, supposed to be of an elephant, was found on the bank of Shoreham harbour. Phil. Mag. December, 1824.

* * * *

At Watlington park, Oxfordshire, at the depth of *fifty or sixty feet*, were found many whole oaks, one upright, and one upright reversed, hazel nuts, a stag's head and antlers, sound, not discoloured; and on the same spot, two Roman urns. Dr. Plott's Hist. Oxf. p. 161.

* * * *

"In 1668, at Chartham, Kent, at the depth of seventeen feet, a parcel of monstrous bones, and four teeth, were dug up, which agree with a late description of the grinders of the elephant. Some are of opinion that they are bones of elephants, abundance of which were brought over by the Emperor Claudius, who landed at Sandwich." Hasted's Kent, III. 155.

Note.—Chartham is on the road to London.

* * * *

At Bowden Parva, Northamptonshire, two tusks of an elephant. Selections, Gent.'s Mag. II. 462. * * *

At Paviland, near Oxwich bay, South Wales, bones of the rhinoceros, hyæna, deer, ox, elephant, bear, wolf, fox, horse, water rat, man, birds, and modern bones of sheep, &c. Professor Buckland.

Note.—At Neath, fourteen miles north-east, there is a Roman encampment of great extent, and several small intrenchments: further on, above thirty miles, is Caerleon, where there was a Roman amphitheatre.—See Rees's Encyc. "Neath."

* * * *

At Chester, were found marks of Roman sacrifices, heads, horns, &c.

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of the ox, roebuck, &c.: and with them two coins of Vespasian and Constantius.—Pennant's Wales, Vol. I.

* * * *

At Newnham, near Rugby, three tusks, curved outwards, like those of Siberia, and other elephants' bones, stags' bones, and two rhinoceros' skulls. At Lawford, near Rugby, bones of a hyæna, elephant, and rhinoceros.

Note.—Newnham is one mile east of the Roman fosse way, and five miles west of the Roman highway. Lawford is a mile and a half east of the fosse way, and five and a half west of the highway: and not a mile to the south of Newnham Regis. "Rugby is distant about three miles, and is the Tripontio of the Romans."—See Horsley, Brit. Rom. p. 436.

* * *

"A farmer at Bossens, in the parish of Erth, at the depth of eighteen feet, found a Roman patera, and, six feet deeper, a jug; and, digging further, they found another patera intermixed with sacrificial fragments of horns, bones of several sizes, half burnt sticks, and fragments of worn out shoes. In the field near, there are remains of a fort, one hundred and fifty-two feet long, one hundred and thirty-six broad; the fosse, outside, is still discoverable."—Borlace's Cornwall, p. 316.

* * * *

At Oreston, near Plymouth, bones of bears, rhinoceroses, and deer. All this quarry had been worked by blasting through the solid rock: here and there are a few small caverns similar to that where the bones

were discovered; but none of them had the appearance of connection with the surface, or with each other.—Phil. Trans. 1821, p. 134. And of the horse, ox, hyæna, wolf, deer, and tiger.—Professor Buckland, Second Edition, p. 72.

Note.—Plymouth is the Tamari Ostea of the Romans, whose custom it was to blast the rocks in the mines.—Pennant's Wales, I. p. 55.

* * * *

At Hutton, Mendip hills, bones of horses, stags, oxen, fox, hog.

At Sandford, deer, elephant, and other bones.

Ten miles from Bristol, an immensely large stag's horn.

A gentleman was digging upon a high hill, near Mendip, for ochre and ore: at the depth of fifty-two fathoms, he found four grinders and two thigh bones of an elephant, well preserved in a bed of ochre.—Selections from Gent.'s Mag. II. 460, &c.

" At Banwell, near the west extremity of the Mendip hills, some miners, in sinking a shaft in search of *Calamine*, intersected a steep and narrow fissure, which, after descending eighty feet, opened into a spacious cavern a hundred and fifty feet long, thirty wide, and twenty to thirty high. From the difficulty of descending by this fissure, it was judged desirable to make an opening in the side of the hill, a little below, in a line which might lead directly into the interior of the cave. This gallery had been conducted but a few feet, when the workmen suddenly penetrated another cavern of inferior dimensions to that which they were in search of, and found its floor to be covered, (to a depth which has not yet been ascertained), with a bed of sand, mud, and fragments of limestone, through which were dispersed an enormous quantity of bones, horns, and teeth. The thickness of this mass has been ascertained in one place to be nearly forty feet,

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chiefly of the ox, and deer tribes: of the latter, there are several varieties, including the elk, a few portions of the skeleton of a wolf, and of a gigantic bear.

The bones are in a state of preservation equal to that of common grave bones; although it is clear, from the fact of some of them belonging to the great extinct bear species, that they are of antediluvian origin*. In the roof of the cave, there is a large chimney-like opening, which appears to have communicated formerly with the surface, but which is choked up with fragments of limestone, interspersed with mud and sand, and adhering together imperfectly by a stalagmitic incrustation. Through this aperture it is probable the animals fell into the cave and perished, in the period preceding the inundation by which it was filled up. In this manner cattle are continually lost by falling into similar apertures in the limestone hills of Derbyshire. There is nothing to induce a belief that it was a den inhabited by hyænas, like the cave at Kirkdale, or by bears, like those in Germany: its leading circumstances are similar to those of the ossiferous cavities in the limestone rock at Oreston, near Plymouth."—Phil. Mag. December, 1824.

Note.—A Roman road runs through Bomium (Axbridge) to Bristol. (Horsley, p. 464). Of the fore-mentioned places, Hutton is within six miles, Sandford within one, and Banwell within two and a half miles of the Roman Road. This last-mentioned collection at Banwell, is probably in a Roman mine. "Calamine," says Pennant, "the Cadmia of Pliny, (Lib. XXXIV. Ch. X.), and the stone Cadmia of Strabo, abounds in the mineral part of this island. The Romans knew its uses in the making of brass; therefore they cannot be supposed to have over-

* See the remarks on animals deemed extinct, Ch. XVIII. The Romans had *Numidian* bears; which are probably not known by the moderns. See Herodotus, Melpomene CXCI. and note 188.

looked so necessary an ingredient. The remains of the brass founderies discovered in our kingdom, shew that they were acquainted with it. The knowledge of this mineral, in after ages, was long lost. Before the reign of Elizabeth much was imported from Sweden, but at that period it was discovered *again in the Mendip hills;* and, fortunately, at the same time that the working of the copper mines in Cumberland was renewed. Our country abounds with it; but, till within these sixty years, we were so ignorant of its value, as to mend our roads with it."—Tour in Wales, Vol. I. p. 66.

From a consideration of the foregoing circumstances, the writer's conjecture is, that the cave of bones was an exhausted portion of the mine, converted into an ossuary, by the miners, for the remains of the oxen and deer which they fed on. It is also probable, that a military guard was stationed at the mines. It will naturally be asked, *why* they should so carefully throw the bones into so secret and secure a place? to which it may be replied, that these bones might attract the wolves, and endanger their lives; they thus prevented that risk. Every English reader knows, that king Edgar commuted the punishment for crimes, into the acceptance of a certain number of wolves' tongues, from each criminal. In Wales, the taxes of gold and silver were converted into a tribute of wolves' heads.

In after times, rewards were offered, and lands were held on condition of destroying the wolves.

* * * *

"In my last I told you that my lord of Cherbury was appointed by his Majesty to make inquiry touching the bones found near Gloucester. His lordship shewed me the bones he had collected, which were a huckle bone, part of the shoulder blade, some parts of a tooth,

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and the bridge of the nose, all of a huge bigness; but his lordship's opinion was, that they were not the bones of a man, but of an elephant, because Claudius, who brought elephants into Britain, did build that city, for which he voucheth Ponticus Verunticus *de rebus Britannicis,* who saith, the ancient name of the city was *Claudicestria;* and Mr. Camden, as you rightly observe, saith, that the Romans had a colony thereabout.

His lordship told me, that these bones were found mingled with those of oxen, sheep, and hogs, and he shewed me the tusk of a boar found amongst them. There was a great square stone lying by them, which we conceived might be the upper stone of an altar, and that the bones were the relics of some great sacrifice celebrated there.

The bridge of the nose was what confirmed his lordship's, and my opinion, that it could not be that of a man, for it did rather seem to be a bone very apt to bear up the long snout of an elephant. His lordship further told me, that Dr. Harvey, a great anatomist, opined, that they were the bones of some great beast, as an elephant. Dr. Clayton, his Majesty's professor of physic at Oxford was of the same opinion. One of the teeth of this pretended giant, by the special favour of my lord of Gloucester, I had the happiness to see; which I found to be of a stony substance, both for hardness and weight; and it should seem, by his lordship's letter to me, that he himself *was not confident that it was the tooth of a man.*—Bishop Hakewill's Apology, p. 228.

Note.—We must not wonder at an Ostiack, and a Swede or a German, confounding narwals, elephants, walruses, and whales, by the same name of mammoth, *their* languages are imperfectly known to each other.—*Vide* Strahlenberg, p. 404.

* * * *

In Dublin, A. D. 1681, an elephant was accidentally burnt to death. —Phil. Trans. No. 326.

At Magherry, near Belturbet, in the county of Cavan, four fossil grinders of an elephant were found.

Note.—It is not improbable that these teeth may have belonged to an *exhibited* elephant: nor is it impossible that they should be of Roman origin. Ptolemy has given a better map of Ireland than of Scotland: and the Romans had garrisons and settlements on the coast of Britain opposite to Ireland for upwards of three hundred years.

* * * *

At Kirkdale, in Yorkshire, in a cave, were found remains of the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, hyæna, bear, *tiger*, wolf, deer, ox, rabbit, water-rat, mouse, and birds. (For a particular description of the cave, and of the remains of the animals, the reader is referred to Professor Buckland's volume.)

Note.—Kirkdale is about twenty-three miles north of York, or Eboracum, which was the Roman capital of Britain for above three hundred years: and the head quarters of the Roman *Empire* for more than three years.

The bones which have been found at Kirkdale, correspond *accurately* with the beasts killed in the amphitheatres in Italy. Tigers are rarely noticed; and it is very worthy of remark, that Severus had *tigers*.—See Dion Cassius, "Severus." He also had *foreign bulls*. The skull of a bull (fossil) found in England, supposed to be of an *extinct* species, is in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. We find in the Augustan History, that when Didius Julianus was informed that Severus had commenced his march, nothing was to be seen at Rome but *elephants*, horses, and troops, training for service.

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In Spartian's life of Severus, we read, that, when he was in Egypt, he was much pleased with his voyage, because of the singular strangeness of the animals and places which he saw; therefore, nothing is more probable than that he possessed hippopotami, rhinoceroses, crocodiles, and hyænas; all of which are natives of Egypt, and have been found at Kirkdale and Whitby, in a fossil state.

It has been conjectured, from the appearance of the bones, that the animals had met with a violent death. Severus died at York, and one of the signs fore-running his death was that a figure of Victory, upon a platform near the Emperor's throne, was blown down *while the games of the circus were celebrating* *. The description of the valley corresponds exactly with what the Romans would select for such an occasion: and particularly for the display of the hippopotamus in his own element †.

It can scarcely be doubted that such spectacles were common at the chief city, when we find the ruins of several amphitheatres visible at this day, in Britain.

When three Emperors were in the island, as might be expected, some of the animals were of rare occurrence, the tiger in particular.

It may be observed that the bones of hippopotami have been found at Harwich, Kew, and Kirkdale, all in the *environs*, (as is usual), of the three principal Roman cities. In this collection of bones the tiger is *Asiatic*, the hippopotamus is *African*, and the small animals are, we may presume, *European*.

There are still remaining in Pickering moor, some small Roman

* Spartian, Life of Sev. See also Ch. XIII. in this Vol.

† "Some amphitheatres were little more than natural vallies with benches cut in the surrounding hills." Rees's Cyc. "Amphitheatre." There is a valley similar to this at Kirkdale, in the Val. d'Arno, near which fossil bones of the same kinds of beasts have been found.

camps, drawings of which may be seen in Roy's Military Antiquities.—(See also Drake's York, p. 36). There are the remains of a Roman fortification at old Malton *, and of Roman *quarries*, near Malton.—(Drake, p. 56.)

York was surrounded by other Roman towns. Caturactonium, (now Thornborough), is full of Roman vestiges. Maglove (Gretabridge), Magi, (Piercebridge), and Derventione, on the Derwent, were all stations of prefects of detachments.—(See Horsley and Camden). At York itself, there was always a considerable military force. The sixth legion was at that station three hundred years.—(Drake, p. 8).

* * * *

At Robin Hood's bay near Whitby; at Scarborough; at Bridlington; remains of elephants.—Quarterly Review, LVII.

Note.—There is a Roman road to Whitby, (Dunus Sinus): also to Flamborough, through Bridlington; which last is named, by the Romans, Gabrantovicorum Portus; they name the bay Sinus Salutaris, a reputation which it still enjoys.—See the map in Ptolemy's Geography.

* * * *

In the interior of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, remains of elephants. Quarterly Review, LVII. p. 152.

Note.—Colchester, (Camelodunum), was the capital of the most powerful British king. Norwich was the capital, (Venta Icenorum, or Caster), of the unfortunate heroine, Boadicea. After their connection

* Malton is, in Ptolemy's map, named Camelodunum; which probably caused the erroneous assertion of some authors that Maldon in Essex was the other Camelodunum, instead of Colchester.

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with the Romans, the Britons put elephants on their coins.—Pennant's Wales, Vol. I. p. 69.—See Plate of coins in Ch. XIII.

* * * *

Remains of elephants have been found at Dorchester, Lyme Regis, Charmouth, Whitchurch near Dorchester; at Burton and Loders, near Bridport.—Quarterly Review, LVII.

Note.—At Dorchester, there was an amphitheatre; all these places are within twenty miles of the amphitheatre.

* * * *

At Box and Newton, near Bath, were found elephants' remains. In all these cases they are found in the superficial diluvial detritus, consisting of either gravel, sand, loam, or clay, and are never embedded in any of the regular strata.—Quarterly Review, LVII. These extracts are quoted from Professor Buckland's work; the arguments concerning them, which are noticed in Chapter XVIII. of this volume, are by the reviewer.

Note.—Bath was a celebrated Roman resort for its waters. The British Emperor, Carausius, accompanied by his empress, and his son, gained a battle near Bath over the Ceangi.—See Ch. XIII.

* * * *

"A horn of the fossil rhinoceros was found in a marl pit at the loch of Forfar, and is in the Edinburgh Museum.

"Two horns of the rhinoceros, we have been informed by Professor Jameson, have occurred in Blair Drummond Moss, on the banks of

the Forth. Two tusks, and some small bones of an elephant were found at Greenhill sandstone quarry, near the water of Carmel, in the parish of Kilmaurs, Ayrshire, in 1817, embedded in clay, at the depth of seventeen feet and a half.

On the west of Clifton hall. in the county of Edinburgh, in 1820, a large tusk was found in a thick bed of clay, seventeen feet below the surface. At no great distance, the workmen, in excavating the canal, on the estate of Bonnington, found a copper battle axe, four feet deep, in a bed of clay, covered with seven feet of sand, and nine of moss.

(The accuracy of the statement referred to in the text is questioned by the Editor of the magazine).

"*The bones of the extinct elephant, rhinoceros, and cave bear, are found in company with those of the common bear, the wolf, the fox, and the horse.*"—Remarks on the influence of society, on the distribution of British animals, by the Rev. J. Fleming, D.D. F.R.S. &c.

Note.—The scene of Agricola's fame was Forfarshire. The forts of Agricola, and the rampart of Antoninus, built by Urbicus, were on the very road where some of these remains were found, and as they were garrisoned for a great length of years, it is fair to presume, that they were supplied like other Roman stations, with the usual amusements. The mention of such trivial circumstances, as wild beasts accompanying the armies and camps, was beneath the dignity of such historians as have been preserved to the present time. It is worthy of remark, that no *collections* of bones, of a *variety* of foreign animals, have been discovered, (as far as the writer is informed), either in Scotland or Ireland, where the Romans did not permanently dwell. It is not at all improbable that some animals may have been *exhibited* in Caledonia.

* * * *

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The writer does not remember to have seen in any geological remarks on fossil bones, that they have ever been referred to the ordinary occurrences of society. Louis IX. sent to Henry III. King of England, an elephant which was kept in the Tower. (Pennant's Zoology). Six centuries might place the remains of this animal in a position to subject it to the suspicion of an antediluvian origin; or of an extinct species, if from the *north* of Asia, or from Egypt. Many other remains have been found in Britain, but the foregoing appear to be the principal *collections* of bones. (See Professor Buckland's "*Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*." Where the reader will find a very full description of the fossil bones, and of the places in which they have been found.

* * * *

Some fossil crocodiles have been found in England. A fossil crocodile in the Alum-shale, near Whitby, upwards of fourteen feet long, and when perfect must have been eighteen; and other remains of crocodiles have been found near Whitby: also three or four species of icthyosaurus in the Alum-shale of Whitby.—Zoological Journal, April 1825, p. 141.

Mr. Kingdom mentions bones of a very large size, appearing to belong to a whale and a crocodile, being found completely embedded in the Oolite quarries a mile from Chipping Norton, near Chapel-house. —Zool. Journal, July 1825, p. 284. The coasts of Yorkshire and Dorsetshire, Bath, and Newark in Nottinghamshire, are places where they have chiefly been found.—See Parkinson, Letters XVIII. and XIX.

There is in the possession of Linkius a large fossil crocodile almost entire, which was found in the side of a large mountain in the midland part of Germany, and in a stratum of black fossil stone, somewhat like our common slate, but of a coarser texture, the same with that in

which the fossil fish in many parts of the world are found.—Rees's Cyc. "Crocodile."

Note.—We find in Dion Cassius, B. LV. that Augustus amused the people with the hunting and killing of thirty-six crocodiles in *one day*. There can be no good reason why these animals, when grown, should not bear the climate of England for six months of the year at least. It is near eighteen centuries since Claudius arrived in Britain, and four thousand one hundred and seventy-three years since the period generally assigned to the deluge: have any of these animals, in a fossil state, been discovered in situations where natural accidents may not have placed them in seventeen centuries?

The writer of these notes is not sufficienty acquainted with geology to offer an opinion on that subject. It must be recollected, with regard to the crocodile, icthyosaurus, and other animals, that Egypt belonged to the Romans, during the whole period of their possession of *England*. If crocodiles were once *natural* to England, would their remains not be found also in Scotland and Ireland? Have any been found in those parts? I believe not: nor any *collections* of bones. If so, is it not a strong *argument against a former hot climate?* The remains of the crocodiles in England, have been found in such places as may justly make us suspect them to have been brought by the Romans.

CHAPTER XV.

Description of the living Asiatic and African Elephants, which are noticed by Naturalists.——List of Countries in which Elephants and other Wild Beasts are found.——Tusks of fifteen thousand Elephants imported into Great Britain in eleven years.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ELEPHANT.

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A FULL grown elephant has, generally, eight grinders. They are composed of vertical plates, of a bony substance, enveloped in enamel, and joined together by a third substance, called cortical.

The grinders succeed or replace each other, not from beneath, as our second grinders succeed to our first, but from behind; so that in proportion as a tooth is worn away, it is pushed forward by that which comes after it. Thus the elephant has sometimes one, sometimes two grinders on each side; four or eight in all, according to the period.

It is said that some elephants thus change their grinders eight times.

They shed their tusks only once, while under a year old.

Only two species of elephants have been recognized.

I. The Indian elephant has an oblong head, a concave forehead, and

the crowns of its grinders present undulating ribbons, which are parts of the plates which compose them, worn by trituration. The females have only short tusks. The males, of the kind called Mookna, resemble females in this respect. The *perfect* Asiatic elephant has five nails upon the fore feet, and four upon the hind feet.

II. The African elephant has a round head, a convex forehead, and grinders presenting lozenges on their crowns. The tusks of the females are as large as those of the males*. They are found from Senegal to the Cape. There are females on the east coast, according to Ludolph and Bruce, with small tusks; and Le Vaillant speaks of a race of elephants, (in his second travels at the Cape), which never have tusks, and the head of which is less elongated than the other sorts. The African elephant has four fore-nails, and three upon the hind feet†.

The elephant, when full grown, is about ten feet high at the shoulder. There is, however, good reason to suppose that the elephants of some countries attain to a considerably greater height. The writer of this Volume has seen great numbers of Bengal elephants: the tallest was ten feet eight inches ‡: it was of the Mergee or long-legged description: the tusks were of a very moderate size; and the animal did not appear aged. It was caught, with thirty-six others, in the Cassimpore woods, in the province of Dacca, Bengal. "The Nabob of Dacca had one ten feet high; and the Nabob of Oude possessed one which measured correctly ten feet six inches §."

* The female, seventeen years in the menagerie of Louis XIV. the skeleton of which is in the museum at Paris, has larger tusks than any we have known of an Indian male or female of the same height.—Cuvier.

† Cuvier; Corse; Rees's Cyc.; Bowdich; Phil. Trans. No. 326.

‡ It must be added, that this is given from *memory*; but he is certain that it was the tallest elephant which he had ever seen.

§ Hamilton's Gazetteer, p. 821.

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OF THE TUSKS.

ELEPHANTS shed their milk tusks the first or second year, when they are about two inches in length, but are not known to shed the second tusks.

Tusks are related to have been of the extraordinary weight of three hundred and fifty pounds, a single one: and many have been known of two hundred pounds weight *.

"The tusk is, in its alveolus, like a nail driven into a plank; nothing retains it there except the elasticity of the parts which inclose it. We may change the direction of the tusks by gentle pressure. The tusks of an elephant were brought so close together as to constrain the motion of its proboscis: we separated them by means of a bar of iron, the middle of which was in the form of a vice †."

The degree of curvature of the tusks varies almost as much as the size of elephants. There is now in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, "a spiral or wreathed tusk, presented from the Royal African Company by Thomas Crisp, Esq. It is about an ell long: at the base a foot in circumference, from the thin edges whereof it is conically hollow for near half a yard. It is furrowed lengthways; the furrows do not surround it, as in the sea unicorn, but are parallel. "This tusk is not round, but somewhat flat ‡."

* Rees's Cyc. "Ivory." Mr. Adams saw a tusk of a mammoth at Jakutsk "de la longuer de deux toises et demi (fifteen French feet); et qui avoit l'epaisseur d'une archine (twenty-eight inches English) près de la racine: elle pesoit sept pouds," (two hundred and fifty-two pounds English). This, from its length, is a most rare and inestimable specimen, and perhaps the greatest curiosity of its kind in the world.

† Cuvier. ‡ Nehemiah Grew, p. 31. A. D. 1681. See Plate, page 295.

"Cuvier knows, from Mr. Fabroni, that there is one of the same description in the Florence gallery*." Grew says, he will not determine whether the tusk has been naturally twisted, or by art, having read, that they may be reduced to any shape by fire†.

In the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, there is a tusk, smaller than Grew's, similar in shape: both of them are corroded, as if by disease. There is a pair of tusks in the same museum, slender, and very near a circle in form, between four and five feet in length. See the Plate, page 295.

"Les defenses ne peuvent etablir de caractere certain, ni entre les espéces vivantes, ni entre celle ci et l'espéce fossile‡."

* * * *

In the province of Tipera, there are three kinds of elephants.

I. The Koomareah, called Dauntelah or large tusked. It is full bodied, short legged, strong, and large.

II. The Mergee, long legged, tall, and weak, with a thin proboscis, the tusks not so long as the first kind. From these two breeds indistinct varieties are produced.

III. The Mookna, whose tusks are quite small, and always point downwards, like those of the walrus.

The females in general, of each kind, have the tusks so small as to be nearly hidden by the flesh of the trunk: but some females have tusks almost as large and long as the male Mookna.

Elephants couple like other quadrupeds, and go with young about twenty-two months. They breed in their tamed state§. Formerly

* Rees's Cyc. "Ivory." † Vide Pausanias, (Taylor's Edit.), Vol. II. p. 33.

‡ Cuvier, Vol. IV. p. 176.

§ Corse, Phil. Trans. "Elephants couple as the cow, or mare, and carry their young eighteen months." Arrian's Indian Hist. Ch. XIV.

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it was thought unlucky to allow elephants to breed, but the Emperor Akbar surmounted that scruple. The elephant lives about one hundred and twenty years*.

The writer saw an elephant in Bengal, when it was only eighteen hours old: it was about thirty-three inches high, weak and tottering, but very playful; twisting in its proboscis a few blades of large grass†. It sucked with the mouth, not with the proboscis.

Elephants swim well. Mountain elephants are the largest and most courageous. They will easily carry three or four thousand pounds weight, and will on occasion go as far in one day as usually requires six ‡.

The elephants of Cochin China, and their tusks, are larger than those of Mosambique §.

Elephants bear cold that kills men and horses; we have seen in these notes, about thirty of these noble beasts encamped upon the ice with Hannibal upon the Little Saint Bernard; and five hundred of them supporting the rigour of winter in the wars of the Emperor Mamood (A. D. 1007) against the king of Cashgar, when men and horses perished by excessive cold.

The elephants that have been dissected and described by naturalists are those of Senegal, Guinea, the Cape of Good Hope, in Africa; and those of Bengal, in Asia.

* Ayeen Akbari, Vol. I. p. 116.

† Elephants, when young, are very playful. "When merchants bring elephants to any place for sale, 'tis a pleasant sight to see them go along. There are old and young together, and when the old are gone by, the children run after the little ones, and leap upon their backs, giving them something to eat; but perceiving their dams are gone forward, they throw the children off, without hurting them, and double their pace." Tavernier, Part II. B. I.

‡ Buffon, XXVIII. p. 152 to 156.

§ Encyc. Brit. "Elephas."

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OF THE HAIR OF ELEPHANTS.

The writer has been favoured, by the proprietor of the menagerie in Exeter Change, with several hairs taken from the large male elephant. One from the fetlock, a light brown colour, thicker than the hair of the human head, five inches and a half in length.

One from the top of the head, black, as thick as horse hair, two inches and nine-tenths long.

One from the under lip, also like horse hair, black, and three inches and a half in length. And one from the front of the proboscis, black, about twice the size of horse hair, three inches and four-tenths long *. These were taken hastily, as opportunities offered, and were not the longest.

A female elephant died at Dundee, April 27, 1706, and the skeleton was prepared by Mr. P. Blair, Surgeon. It was eight feet six inches high, and supposed to be twenty-seven years old.

"The cuticula was covered all over with a strange sort of scab, like short pieces of whalebone, much divided, but adhering fast: they were from one-sixteenth to one-sixth of an inch in length; I take them to be a distemper from the coldness of the climate. The hairs are every where pretty long, some two, some three inches:—in places subject to rubbing, an inch, or only half an inch. There are passages for them through the cuticula: they arise from the cutis; they are black, and many of them stiffer than those in a hog †."

"In some scraped off particles of the skin of an elephant, I discovered short small hairs. I saw two hairs on one of the particles,

* See Plate, page 295.

† Phil. Trans. N°. 326.

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but by means of a microscope I discovered four. The yearly shedding of the matter that is upon the skin, may be thus accounted for: when the time comes that there is no increase of the hair, but that it is, as it were, at a stand, as we see in other creatures that shed their hair, the same thing happens to the elephant *."

" It may be observed that, in propriety, the life and growth of hairs is of a different kind from that of the rest of the body, and is not immediately derived therefrom. It is rather of the nature of vegetation. They grow as plants do out of the earth, or as some plants shoot from the parts of others; from which though they draw their nourishment, yet each has, as it were, its several life and a distinct economy. They derive their food from some juices in the body, but not from the nutricious juices of the body; whence they may live, though the body be starved†."

With respect to the colour of elephants. Monsieur Vaillant mentions having seen some of a red colour, but it was very probably caused by the colour of the earth where the animals had been wallowing.

The *white* elephants, for the possession of which so many kings have lost their lives and dominions, are apparently of the same nature as the albinos, diseased irregular productions, such as frequently occur in many animals. The writer happens to possess an old coloured drawing of a very fine elephant, which he conjectures, from the appearance of the natives attending it, to have belonged to a king of Pegu. The whole of the proboscis, great part of the cheek and ear, and a large proportion of the chest are what is termed white. It is in reality a flesh-colour, with a rosy hue, and covered with numerous black spots. The remarkable circumstance attending this painting is, that the

* Leeuwenhoek. Phil. Trans. N°. 336. † Encyc. Brit. " Hair."

pupil and the iris of the eye are *red*, which is perhaps the case with all animals unnaturally white*.

OF WILD ELEPHANTS, AND OTHER ANIMALS, AND THE COUNTRIES THEY INHABIT.

Elephants are found in their wild state in most parts of Hindostan, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Nepal mountains; in the province of Tipera, the coast of Malabar, and many other places.

India beyond the Ganges abounds with them: they are found in Assam, the Burman empire, Pegu, Siam, Tonquin, Cochin China, Laos, Cambodia, the Chinese provinces of Yunnan and Quangsi, the frontiers of the kingdom of Boutan near to Great Tartary†, and Tangut‡. In the islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, and Borneo.

In Africa, wild elephants are found in Abyssinia, Ethiopia, and the country of the Troglodytes§, Dar-Fur‖, Bornou**, in Senegal, and southward to the Cape of Good Hope, both on the west and east coasts. And anciently in Lybia beyond the Syrtes††, Mount Atlas, and other parts of Gætulia§§.

* See Soninis' Buffon, Vol. XXVIII. p. 274.

† Tavernier, Part. II. B. I. p. 96.

‡ Petis de la Croix, p. 358, and 368. In D'Anville's great map, improved by Bolton, Tangut begins in N. Lat. 30°; (now Lat. 30° is Assam).

§ Brown's Travels in Africa.

‖ Rees's Cyc. "Dar Fur;" and Brown's Travels.

** "Herds of elephants, giraffes, buffaloes, and antelopes of various kinds are every where seen, and especially on the borders of the Lake. Major Denham says, he counted forty-seven large elephants in one group."—"Crocodiles and hippopotami abound: and an animal in these lakes, called Om Kergay, is mentioned by Burckhardt; it is said to be as large as a rhinoceros, with a very small head and mouth, and perfectly harmless." Quarterly Review, December, 1823, pp. 521, 523.

†† Cuvier, p. 74.

§§ The vallies of Mount Atlas are diversified with forests and plentiful springs;

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Elephants are captured either singly, by means of the females, and then it is always males that are taken; or else in droves, being frightened into a large enclosure of trees, so arranged as not to be visible to the animals, as a trap, till they are conducted into it. It is in Hindostan called a *keddah,* and has been accurately described by Mr. Corse. The writer passed through Tipera, when a keddah of, he thinks, eighty-three had been captured a few weeks, and he rode several miles to view it. The animals were then picketed in a plain near the keddah, at a convenient distance from each other; there was not one of a very large size. Some were unruly, and required to be occasionally pricked with an iron spike at the end of a long bamboo. In their exertions to free themselves from the ropes round their legs, many had wounded the skin; and some suffered severely from swarms of flies settling upon the ulcerated parts; to keep them off, the attendants shook and rattled a bamboo split at one end into slender canes. Some of the elephants were roaring lustily; and many of them were, with their trunks, tossing about large plantain leaves and stems, and, probably, to keep off the flies, covering their heads and backs with the coarse grass with which they were supplied, in abundance, for food.

a country fit for the maintaining of elephants. The inhabitants are called "*Fileli.*" They are from Arabia Felix. *Fil* is the Arabic word for elephant. Elephants' tusks are exported from Morocco: but may be conveyed thither by the caravans from Soudan. *Can there be elephants now inhabiting the extensive range of the Atlas mountains?* Perhaps no modern European traveller has *visited* the countries on the south and east neighbourhoods of Mount Atlas, but they could scarcely be unknown to the French and English consuls, if there were elephants in those regions. Vide Rees's Cyc. "Atlas. Tafilet. Morocco." Gætulian archers fought with Pompey's eighteen elephants, in the amphitheatre, (B. C. 55); they being used to hunt and kill them. Catrou, Vol. VI. p. 127. Pliny, B. VIII. Ch. VII. The countries about Senegal and the Niger, were by some called Melanogætulia and Nigritia. Nothing positive can be known about the bounds of Gætulia. There is a great desert between Morocco and Senegal.

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ON THE NUMBERS OF ELEPHANTS.

In Bornou, we have seen, that Major Denham counted forty-seven elephants in one group. In Dar-Fur, they are seen in herds of four or five hundred; and sometimes, it is *reported,* even of two thousand*. In Assam, five or six hundred may be procured in one year†. In Siam, they capture as many as a hundred and forty at one time ‡. In Ceylon, a hundred and sixty have been taken in one keddah §. The Subah of Bengal is said to have furnished annually, in Akbar's reign, four hundred and fifty-two elephants, of which number the Circar of

* See Rees's Cyc. Dar-Fur; and Brown's Travels. The Romans were most probably supplied from Ethiopia, called Nubia by the Arabs, and sometimes by the Romans, (now Bornou, Abyssinia, and Dar-Fur), through the port of Syene; of which place Juvenal, the satirist, was governor, in the reign of Domitian, who kept herds of elephants in the Rutulian forests.

"But now, such strange caprice has seized the great,
They find no pleasure in the costliest treat,
Unless wide yawning panthers, towering high—
(Enormous pedestals of ivory,
From teeth the Æthiopian realm supplies (*a*),
Or Indian, or from those of larger size,
Which, now too old, too heavy for the head,
The beasts in Nabathean (*b*) forests shed)—
The spacious orbs support: then they can feed,
And every dish grows delicate indeed!"—*Juvenal, Sat. XI.*

(*a*) "Quos mittit porta Syenes." "Syene was the capital of the Insula Elephantina, so called from the number of its elephants."—Madan's Juvenal, Sat. XI. note 124.

(*b*) Meaning Eastern, (from Italy).

† Sir William Jones's Supplement, Vol. I. p. 232.

‡ Embassy of the Chevalier Chaumont.

§ Le Bruyn, Vol. II. p. 184.

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Sylhet supplied one hundred and ninety, and the Circar of Ghoraghaut fifty, and Sunargong two hundred: besides three hundred and twenty-three from the Subah of Allahabad: two hundred and twenty from the Subah of Agra: ninety from Malwa, &c.*. There is scarcely any limit to the number that might be collected by an Asiatic or African monarch†.

Elephants are now not made use of in warfare, except for carrying their owners and the tents and baggage. The monarchs of Oude keep a great number for hunting expeditions; even at the present day more than a thousand: which is shewn in Ch. VIII. of this volume, with many instances of the numbers formerly kept, generally much exaggerated, but at the lowest number that need be credited amounting to vast establishments.

More than fifteen thousand "half reasoning elephants," were slain to supply Great Britain with knife handles and toys, in eleven years, from 1788 to 1798. According to an account delivered to the House of Commons eighteen thousand nine hundred and fourteen cwt. of ivory, were imported.—See Rees's Cyc. "Ivory." Seventy pounds weight are allowed for each tusk, which is probably much more than the average weight.

* Ayeen Akbari, Vol. II. pp. 30, 39, 48, 185, 188, 189. This edition of the Ayeen Akbari, p. 16, says, Bengal supplies one hundred and seventy elephants: the above is taken from the detail of the Circars: but another edition says, Bengal supplies one thousand one hundred and seventy. See Ayeen Akbari, 4to. by Gladwin, dated Calcutta, 1777, printed in London.

† At Angola, where Andrew Battell lived many years, he relates that the natives have idols of wood, in the midst of their towns. They are called *Mokisso*, and are fashioned like a negro. At the foot of the idol is a vast number of elephants' tusks, three or four tons of them, stuck in the ground, and upon them were set the skulls of men slain in the wars, as a token of victory. Purchas, Vol. I. p. 869, B.

OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE RHINOCEROS, HIPPOPOTAMUS, AND OTHER WILD BEASTS.

In *Asia*.—The one-horned rhinoceros is found in the Panjab; in Guzerat; in the Sunderbunds of Bengal, and other parts of Hindostan; in the Birman empire; Siam; Cochin China; Quangsi in China*; and, probably, in all the countries called "India beyond the Ganges;" in Java; Sumatra, &c. The rhinoceros with two horns is found in Sumatra, and is described by Mr. Bell in the Philosophical Transactions, 1793.

In *Africa*.—"It is certain that the one-horned rhinoceros is found towards Cape Gardafui, by the straits of Babelmandel; and, if the natives are to be believed, the one-horned is found also in the kingdom of Adel†." "In the royal stables at Ispahan there was a rhinoceros with one horn. It was brought for the king by an ambassador from Ethiopia‡." The two-horned rhinoceros, which was frequently exhibited by the Romans§, is known to inhabit Abyssinia, Congo, Angola, the Cape of Good Hope, and other countries in Africa. "The rhinoceros brought by Mr Campbell from the interior of Africa, as far as respects the appearance of the horns, is entirely a new species. The horn is a yard long, very small at the point, and two feet in circumference at the base: the small horn is close to it, and stands up perpendicularly behind the base of the long one, and is only twelve inches high, while its circumference at the base, is twenty-four inches||."

* Abbé Grosier, Vol. I. p. 112. † Bruce's Travels, Vol V. p. 85.

‡ Sir John Chardin's Travels.

§ See Rees's Cyc. "Rhinoceros," where it is said there are five species: that described by Sir E. Home makes a sixth. See also Martial's Epigrams.

|| Sir Everard Home, Phil. Trans. 1821.

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Hippopotamus—is found in Senegal*, Abyssinia, Dongola, Dar-Fur, Bornou†, and many parts of southern Africa. Also in the Nile in upper Egypt: sometimes in lower Egypt. Two were killed near Damietta, A. D. 1600‡. They are not known to inhabit Asia. In a French translation of Pallas, Vol. V. p. 204, the walrus is named Hippopotamus.—See Ch. XVI. of this Vol.

Ostriches.—Numidia, Dar-Fur, Bornou, and numerous other places.

Tigers.—Senegal§, Hindostan, Chinese Tartary, the Altai mountains, and many other parts of Asia‖.

Lions, Leopards, Panthers.—India, Persia, Abyssinia, Bornou, Morocco, Dar-Fur, and many other parts of Africa and Asia.

Buffaloes—are found in most parts of India, and many parts of Asia and Africa. In Pegu they are of a monstrous size**.

Hyænas.—Hindostan, Persia, Asia Minor, Syria, Barbary, Abyssinia, Dar-Fur, &c.

Asses.—Plentiful in Persia and Armenia††.

Zebras.—Congo, Abyssinia, and other parts of Africa‡‡.

* Adanson.

† The river Shary empties itself by two branches into the lake Tsad. Crocodiles were basking on the banks, fish and water fowl abounded, and the huge hippopotami came so near as to be struck with the paddles.—Quarterly Review, LXII. March 1825.

‡ Rees's Cyc. "Hip." Bruce, Vol. V. p. 85.

§ Adanson. "What are called Tigers, in Morocco, are leopards. The royal tiger is there unknown."—Chenier, Vol. I. p. 171. The first tigers seen by the Romans, were those presented by the Indian ambassadors to Augustus, while he was at Samos.—See Crevier, "Augustus." This may be deemed a proof that tigers are not known in Africa.

‖ Leopards, panthers, &c. are frequently called tigers by travellers.

** Purchas, Vol. I. p. 566. B.

†† Xenophon, Exp. of Cyrus, p. 27; and Sir R. K. Porter's Travels, with an engraving of one.

‡‡ Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. VI. p. 185. Lobo, Vol. 1. p. 291. Rees's Cyc.

Camelopards.—Siam in Asia*, Senegal, Abyssina, Bornou, Dar-Fur, the Cape of Good Hope, and other parts of Africa. The *Reem*, translated in the book of Job *unicorn*, is most probably the camelopard, which must have been known to Job. Bruce remarks that *Reem*, in the Hebrew and Ethiopic, is derived from erectness, or standing straight; and he supposes that it alludes to the upright position of the horn, as the rhinoceros has bending knees. The commentators on Job, Chapter XXXIX. and on Numbers, Ch. XXIII. v. 22, think that the original means wild bull, goat, antelope, &c. The camelopard was probably not known to the translators; it is but recently that it has been *accurately* known. Heliodorus speaks of the camelopard being brought, among other presents, by the Ethiopian ambassadors to Rome. They were often exhibited at the games after Egypt belonged to the Romans.

Bears—were found in perhaps every part of the continent of Europe, and also in Africa and Asia. Bears' flesh was much esteemed by the ancients as food, and is still served up at the tables of princes. The Emperor of China will send a hundred leagues to procure bears for an entertainment. The fur has always been valuable. The Ursarii were servants in great families among the Romans, who had the care of breeding and feeding these animals. The English nobility had officers of this kind: the fifth earl of Northumberland paid one of them a salary of twenty shillings†. In early times it is not improbable that bears were fed and bred by the barbarous nations of Germany as ordinary food.

* Vincent Le Blanc, p. 115. As I have not met with any other authority, I venture to conjecture, that those mentioned by Le Blanc had been imported from Africa, for the parks of the sovereigns.

† Rees's Cyc. "Bear's flesh," and "Bear wards."—The Romans exhibited *Numidian* bears.—See Beloe's Herodotus, Melpomene, CXCI. and note 188; and Ch. XI. of this Vol.

CHAPTER XVI.

On the Fisheries in the Arctic Seas, of the Walrus, (the Mammoth of Siberia), and the Narwal.——Surprising numbers of these Animals.——Description of the Walrus by the Emperor Kang-hi.

THE WALRUS.

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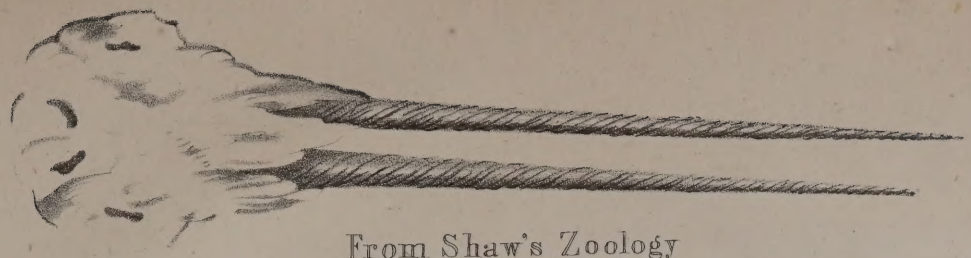
THE Trichechus Rosmarus is generally known by the names, walrus, morse, morsch, sea-horse. It is sometimes called sea-lion, sea-ox, horse-whale, and sea-elephant. By the Samoyedes it is named Tiute*. By the eastern and other Siberians, Behemot† and Mammoth‡.

* Tooke's Russian Empire, Vol. III. p. 91.

† Muschkin Puschkin, Vaivode of Smolensko, and Intendant of the Chancery of the government of Siberia, A. D. 1685.—*Vide* Father Avril's Travels, p. 176.

‡ "The Russian *Mammoth* certainly came from the word Behemot. It is currently believed by the Siberian populace, that mammoths were *amphibious* creatures."—Strahlenberg, p. 404. "The Russians drive a great trade to Pekin in the teeth of a sort of fish, which are much finer, *whiter*, and more precious than ivory."—Du Halde, Vol. II. p. 263. A note at the bottom of the page adds, "they are those called mammut's teeth, found lately to be teeth of elephants. "This note was probably added by the translator. "A great many mammoths' teeth, which are *white*, are carried for sale to China."—Strahlenberg, p. 402.



From Shaw's Zoology

NARWAL
OR
SEA UNICORN

WALRUS
OR
MAMMOTH

M. Gauci lithog

Published April 11th 1826.

Printed by C. Hullmandel

DESCRIPTION.

Five toes to each foot, diminishing from the great toe to the small one, on the fore feet; but the great and small toes are the longest on the hind feet, and the intermediate the shortest: the fore feet enveloped in the skin of the body as far as the carpus; the hind feet enveloped almost to the heel; short tail

It surpasses the largest bulls in size, attains twenty-four feet in length*, and is covered with a yellowish close fur. The lower jaw is without incisives and canines; in the upper jaw are two enormous tusks, pointing downwards. Grinders, like short cylinders cut obliquely, four on each side, above and below, two of the upper falling at a certain age; two incisives, like grinders, between the canines; and between these, (in young individuals), two small and pointed incisives. The enormous sockets, necessary for their tusks, curl up the fore part of the upper jaw, in the form of a large swelled muffle: these tusks receive a pivot from the bases of their alveoli, or sockets.

They appear to live on sea-weed and animal substances, and inhabit every part of the frozen ocean. The ivory is said never to change its colour; it is granular, and presents small close round spots. That of the elephant and mammoth is reticulated in a lozenge †.

The tusks of the walrus are found in great numbers along the shores of the Arctic sea. There are two in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in Lincoln's-inn-fields, which appear to be about two feet long. At Schalanginski, among the Tschudski, where the num-

* " Ce paisibile amphibi a quelques fois plus de vingt quatre pieds de longueur."—Levesque, Vol. VI. p. 21.

† Bowdich, " Mammalia," p. 42. *Mammoth* here means the fossil elephant.

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ber found is great, and, they affirm, detached from the animal, they are sometimes twenty-nine and thirty pounds weight, and an ell and a half long, (meaning probably the Russian ell, or archine, which is twenty-eight inches English*). Buffon observes that "le morse a deux grandes defenses d'ivoire comme l'elephant, auquel il ressembleroit en entier par cette partie capitale, s'il avoit une trompe †." The morse is bred in the Russian seas, and climbs upon the rocks by the help of his tusks, in order to seek his food ‡. It is said to feed also on dead whales §.

FISHERIES OF THE WALRUS.

"The elder Gmelin has circumstantially described the vast extent of the haunts of the morse in his Travels, tom. III. p. 165. They begin about the Kurilly Islands, are found in the parts contiguous to Behring's Island; and in general throughout the whole of the Russian Archipelago; proceeding thence towards the Anadyr, and the Tschutskian promontory, *(where are found an astonishing quantity of morse teeth,* which leads Gmelin to believe that they retire into these unfrequented regions for shedding their large old tusks for young ones); and they are found in swarms all along the coasts of the frozen ocean, as far as Greenland. Hermann's Statistische Schilderung von Russland, p. 254 ||.

* Buffon, Vol. XXXIV. p. 162. Encyc. Brit. "Trichechus." Harris's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 487. Travellers, in general, speaking of ells, and being of different nations, it is impossible to know the measure which they allude to. When the ell is not specified, it is presumed to mean that of Russia, when the remark relates to that country.

† Vol. XXIV. p. 159.

‡ Milton's Historical Works, Vol. II. p. 133.

§ Strahlenberg, p. 19.

|| Tooke, Vol. III. p. 100.

From Yakutsk vessels go to the mouth of the Lena to get narwal and whale oil; the natives pretend to be descended from the *Mongols* and Calmucs. * * *

The towns of Tangviskoi and Mungaseja are on the Nijnaya Tonguska, not far from the Jenesai; they drive a great trade by land in furs, sea horse and *mammoths'* teeth; and from these two towns, they send out several vessels to the mouth of the river and the sea coast, to fish for sea horses and seals †.

* * * *

"Octher, the Norwegian, made a report to king Alfred, about the year 890, of the chace of the walrus; having made a voyage beyond Norway for the fishing of horse-whales, which have in their teeth bones of great price and excellency, whereof he brought some, at his return, unto the king. In fact, it was in the northern world, in early times, the substitute to ivory. The morse feeds on sea herbs and fish, also on shells, which they dig out of the sand with their teeth, which they also make use of to ascend rocks or pieces of ice, fastening them to the cracks, and drawing their bodies up by that means. Besides mankind they seem to have no other enemy than the white bear, with whom they have terrible combats; but generally come off victorious, by means of their great teeth ‡."

* * * *

We caught and killed one fish whose head was so large, that his

† Isbrandts Ides, Vol. II. pp. 957, 958. This probably means walrus and elephants. On another occasion this author calls the morse tusks sent to China by the name of mammoth.—See Harris, Vol. II. p. 928.

‡ Encyc. Brit. "Trichechus.

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great teeth weighed, each of them, twenty-nine or thirty pounds (French) †.

* * * *

Cherry Island (so called in honour of Sir Francis Cherry) lies south of Spitsbergen, where in one season the crew made twenty tons of oil out of the flesh, and got three hogsheads of morses' teeth. In 1610, the Russia Company took possession of it, and that year they killed a thousand morses, and made fifty tons of oil. They discovered three lead and coal mines upon this and the small islands near it. Towards the end of June the pitch ran down the sides of the ship with the heat of the weather. The island abounds with wild fowl, seals, and bears; but has not been visited the last hundred years. In the reign of Alfred there was a profitable fishery in these seas ‡.

* * * *

"We saw many morses swimming near our ships, and heard withal so huge a noise of roaring, as if there had been a hundred lions. For all we could do, out of above a thousand, we killed but fifteen. I found a tooth, and, going a little farther, found as many more as filled a hogshead; all which we did deliver to Master Welden."

"Under a large cliff upon the beach we found near a thousand morses. We killed thirty, and took off their heads §."

* * * *

† Voyage des pays Septentrionaux de M. de la Martiniere. A. D. 1671.

‡ Harris's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 389.

§ Voyages of Jonas Poole to Cherry Island, about 1604 to 1609.—Purchas, Vol. III. 557.

"The morse teeth, taken about Petchora, are almost two feet long, and weigh eleven or twelve pounds†."

* * * *

The teeth of the walrus have been found *in the earth* about Anadirski, and are larger than the common sort from Archangel, Kola, and Greenland. *Quantities of their bones are found on the coasts of the northern sea* ‡.

* * * *

The ninth day we got one tierce of morses' teeth, besides four hundred other teeth. We brought a young living morse to court, where King James, and many honourable personages, beheld it with admiration. It soon died. It was of a strange docility, and very apt to be taught §.

* * * *

There are annual expeditions from Mezen, near Archangel, to Nova Zembla, for morses' teeth ||.

In north latitude 68° 1′, longitude 188° 30′ we sent our boats in pursuit of the sea horses, which were in great numbers on the pieces of ice that surrounded us. Our people returned with three

† Dr. Fletcher, ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Theodor.—Purchas, Vol. III. 413.

‡ Encyc. Brit. "Siberia." Goldsmith's Nat. Hist. These are what have been reported to Pallas, Billings, and others, as *mammoth* remains.

§ Voyage of R. Stevens, of Harwich, to Cherry Island, in 1608.—Purchas, Vol. III. p. 560. The skeleton of this animal may probably be found in or near London. Others may have been brought to England when these fisheries were pursued.

|| Levesque, Vol. VI. p. 21.

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large ones and a young one, besides killing and wounding several others. On the approach of our boats towards the ice, they all took their cubs under their fins, and endeavoured to escape with them into the sea. Several, whose young were killed or wounded, and left floating on the surface, rose again and carried them down, sometimes just as our people were going to take them up into the boat, and might be traced bearing them to a great distance through the water, which was coloured with their blood: we afterwards observed them bringing them, at times, above the surface, as if for air, and again diving under it, with a dreadful bellowing. The female, in particular, whose young had been destroyed and taken into the boat, became so enraged, that she attacked the cutter, and struck her two teeth through the bottom of it†.

* * * *

The principal objects of the sea chace, about Spitsbergen and Nova Zembla are whales and morses, a toilsome and dangerous trade.

The people who go out to catch the morse, are hired by a ship owner, fitted out with provisions and other necessaries, and they receive a share of what they take, or else five or ten rubles for the summer. They usually carry out a year's provision, as they are often obliged to pass the winter on board their ships, which are provided with an oven, wood, and water, with which, when they go ashore, they prepare quas. When the morse catchers are happily arrived at their destination, they anchor near the huts which have been left by their predecessors in this hazardous warfare. They commit themselves to the small boats, of which every vessel takes one or two, and proceed to the

† Captains Cook and King's Voyage, Vol. III. p. 247.

conflict. The first fine day they usually find morses on the land or the ice, where those monsters go to cast their young, and remain a month or two, frequently in prodigious numbers. These fat animals emit a horrid stench.

When the captors have reached this formidable encampment, they quit their boats, armed with pikes: they cut off the retreat to the sea, and pierce those morses which come first to save themselves in the water.

As these animals scramble over one another in their attempts to escape; from the numbers of the slain, there soon arises a bulwark, which effectually choaks up the passage to the living; and there the captors proceed to the slaughter, till they have not left one alive.

It sometimes happens that so great are the heaps of the dead, that the vessels can only contain the heads or the teeth; the fat, blubber, and skins, are then left behind.

Easy as it is to kill these animals on land, the conflict is dangerous in their own element. When any escape into the water, the captors leap upon the ice, and harpoon them, if they can, in the breast or belly. They then drive a stake into the ice, and tie the harpoon-cord to it, drawing the animal about till he is exhausted, when they kill him outright.

When the morses are so near the water as to leap in ere the attack begins, the captors fasten the cord, when they have thrown the harpoon, only to the head of the boat; which is then drawn by the huge animal so deep into the water, that the sailors must all run a-stern. Then the morse rises erect upon the surface of the water, and makes a furious attack; sometimes he is so successful as to shatter the boat with his long stout tusks, or to throw himself suddenly, by a leap, into the midships. The crew then jump overboard, and hold by the gunnel, till other morse-hunters come to their assistance in this desperate situation.

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Of the morse skins are made traces for carriages, horse harnesses, &c. and excellent size for paper manufactories. A pood of morse teeth costs upon the spot twenty or thirty rubles. In 1793, the exports by sea from all the ports amounted to one hundred and ninety poods of mammoths' bones and morse tusks, value six thousand one hundred and thirty-six rubles.

The frozen ocean likewise teems with the narwal and many other animals valuable for their skins or their blubber †.

* * * *

At Malone the track for horses is generally finished, though the natives do sometimes go as far as Nishney Kolymsk, on the Kolyma, and even to the frozen sea, in search of sea horse and mammoths' tusks.

On one day the Tschuktchi were particularly flush of sea horse teeth, and they were at a reduced price. Another day, they brought four or five hundred, and bartered them ‡.

* * * *

"The Russians, says Father Avril, have discovered a sort of ivory which is *whiter* and smoother than that which comes from the Indies; not that they have any elephants, but other *amphibious* animals, which they call by the name *Behemot* §, and which are usually found in the river Lena, or upon the shores of the Tartarian sea.

† Tooke's Russian Empire, Vol. III. B. X.

‡ Capt. Cochrane's Pedestrian Journey, pp. 233, 263, 268. (Elephants tusks have been found in those regions; but in Chap. XV. it is seen what an uncommon occurrence it is). Captain C. when he heard the word mammoth, would no doubt conclude that it alluded to the elephant.

§ Behemot is by the Russians corruptly pronounced Mammoth. Strahlenberg,

Several teeth of this monster were shewn us at Moscow: they were ten inches (French) long, and two in diameter at the root; nor are the elephant's teeth comparable to them either for beauty or *whiteness*. The Persians and Turks who buy them up, prefer a scimitar or dagger-haft of this precious ivory, before a handle of massy silver or gold.

They were beholden for the discovery of this to the inhabitants of a certain island, out of which, they say, issued the first colonies that ever peopled America. Thus much we learnt on this subject from Muschkin Puschkin, Vaivode of Smolensko, a person of as great wit as a man can well meet with, and perfectly acquainted with all the countries that lie beyond the Oby, as having been a long time Intendant of the Chancery of the government of Siberia.

With regard to America, "there is" said he, "beyond the Oby, a great river called Kawoina, into which another river empties itself, by the name of Lena*. At the mouth of the first river that discharges itself into the frozen sea, stands a spacious island very well peopled, and which is no less considerable for hunting the *Behemot*, an amphibious animal, whose teeth are in great esteem. The inhabitants go frequently upon the side of the frozen sea to hunt this monster, and, because it requires great labour and assiduity, they carry their families along with them. Now it many times happens, that, being surprised with a thaw, they are carried away I know not whither, upon huge pieces of ice, that break off one from another.

p. 403. It does not appear that Father Avril was acquainted with the discovery of the bones of elephants.

* The geography of Siberia was at that time not known. The Kovima is many hundred miles from the Lena. The mouth of the Lena was discovered in 1636. (Levesque, VIII. 12). This conversation was in 1685. Muschkin Puschkin had been a *long time* Intendant; which makes it probable, that when walruses were named Behemots, elephants' remains had not attracted the notice of Europeans; it is they, and not the Siberians, who name elephants mammoths. See Strahlenberg, p. 403.

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For my part, added he, I am persuaded that several of those hunters have been carried upon these floating pieces of ice to the most northern part of America, which is not far off from that coast of Asia which juts out into the sea of Tartary. What confirms me in this opinion is this, that the Americans, who inhabit that country which advances farthest towards that sea, have the same physiognomy as those unfortunate islanders, whom the over eager thirst after gain exposes, in that manner, to be transported into a foreign country†."

* * * *

The first voyage from the Kovima was in 1646, under Isaac Ignatief, a native of Mesen. In a bay, latitude 72°, they met with some of the Tschuktchi nation, but would not venture on land. They spread their commodities on the shore, of which the natives took what they pleased, and deposited in their place Walrus teeth, and articles made of that species of ivory. In the voyage of Deshnef, a few years afterwards, towards the Anadyr, the Tschuktchi had piled up on the west side of a river, a number of whales' bones, or, according to other reports, they are the tusks of the walrus. They are raised in the form of a tower. —Rees's Cyc. "Asia."

* * * *

The Chinese appear to have been long acquainted with this animal and its ivory. "A kind of flying rat," says the Abbé Grosier, "is seen near *Keon-onoi:* it is larger than the common rat, and has wings like those of the fox, already mentioned.

A much more extraordinary rat, called the *fen-chou,* is found beyond

† Father Avril's Travels to discover a new way by land to China; p. 176. He was sent by Louis XIV.

the *Tai-tong-kiang*, upon the coast of the northern sea, which is almost always frozen. This animal is shaped like a rat; but it is as large as an elephant. It inhabits obscure caverns, and carefully shuns the light. The ivory it furnishes is as *white* as that procured from the elephant; but it is much easier to be worked, and never splits.

An ancient Chinese book, called *Chin-y-king*, speaks of this animal in the following words:—"There is in the northern extremities, amidst the snow and ice which cover the country, a *chou* (a rat) which weighs a thousand pounds: its flesh is very good for those who are overheated. Another kind, of a less size, is also mentioned, which is only as large as a buffalo: it burrows in the earth like a mole, flies from the light, and remains almost always shut up in its subterranean retreats. What we have here related is extracted from a printed collection of observations, by the celebrated Emperor *Kang-hi* †."

* * * *

The following extract is from the Baron Cuvier's great work, and is more interesting and decisive, from these *mammoths* having been seen alive upon the plains, in the year 1571.

Les Chinois nomment les cornes de *mamouth* tien-schu-ya (dents de tien-schu). On trouve dans la grande histoire naturelle Bun-zoo-gann-mu composée au XVI. siécle, que l'animal nommé tien-schu, dont il est déja parlé dans l'ancien ouvrage (du V^e^. siécle avant Jesus Christ) sur le ceremonial, entitulé Ly-Ki, s'appelle aussi tyn-schu ou yn-schu, c'est à dire, la souris qui se cache.

† Grosier's China, Vol. I. p. 568. The Chinese have long known Siberia for the sake of the ivory, furs, and hawks and falcons, which are of very ancient use. It is supposed that the ancient Germans learned falconry from the Scythians. See Strahlenberg, p. 361.

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Il se tient continuellement dans des cavernes souterraines; il ressemble à une souris, mais égale en grandeur un bœuf ou un buffle. Il n'a point de queue, sa couleur est obscure. Il est très fort et se creuse des cavernes dans les lieux pleins de rochers et de forêts."

Un autre écrivain cité par celui lá, s'exprime ainsi, " Le tyn-schu ne se tient que dans des endroits obscurs et non-frequentés. Il meurt si tot qu'il voit les rayons du soleil ou de la lune: ses pieds sont courts à proportion de sa taille, ce qui fait qu'il marche mal. Sa queue est longue d'une aune Chinoise. Ses yeux sont petits et son cou courbe. Il est fort stupide et paresseux.

Lors d'une *inondation* aux environs du fleuve Tan-schuann-tuy (en l'année 1571), *il se montra beaucoup de tyn-schu dans la plaine*, ils se nourissoient des racines de la plante fu-kia."

Ces details curieux, sont extraits d'une note communiquée à l'Académie de Petersbourg par M. Klaproth et imprimée par M. Tilesius, dans les memoires de cette Académie. t. V. p. 409.

M. Klaproth dit aussi dans cette note, q'ayant consulté un manuscrit mantschu il y trouva ce qui suit: " L'animal nommé fin-schu, ne se trouve que dans les regions froides, aux bords du fleuve Tai-tunn-giann, et plus au nord jusqu á la mer septentrionale. Il resemble à une souris mais est aussi grand qu'un elephant. Il craint la lumiere et se tient sous terres dans des grottes obscures. Ses os sont *blancs* comme de l'ivoire, se laissent aisément travailler, et n'ont point de fissures. Sa chair est d'une nature froide, et fort saine *."

* * * *

The Yakutes, on the Lena, are formed of three powerful people:

* Cuvier, p. 142.

Mongols, Tartars, and Manjours. The last are now, since 1644, upon the throne of China. All the three, at times, have invaded and conquered that empire: nothing is therefore more probable, or rather certain, than that the above alludes to the walrus, and the river Lena. See Levesque, Vol. VII. p. 437. Neither Mr. Adams, Pallas, Strahlenberg nor even Levesque make mention of the *Lena* fishery of the walrus. Levesque alludes to the fishery at Novaia Zemlia, of this animal. Pallas, Vol. V. p. 204, says, " Lorsque les Samoiedes sont à la proximité des cotes de la mer, ils prennent les *hippopotames* et les veau marins qui se placent sur les rochers voisins du rivage, ou sur la glace." Pallas describes the latter but makes no further mention of the first, which were no doubt walruses. This extract is from the translation of his original *German* work. The reader is requested to compare the above Chinese history with the first five pages of Chap. VI. and he will perceive what extraordinary confusion and errors have proceeded from calling both the morse and the elephants, &c. by the name of mammoth. It thus appears that the Chinese have been acquainted with the walrus two thousand three hundred years; for there can be no doubt of the above being that animal: and we here perceive that the fanciful stories about this animal have been transferred to the elephant by Strahlenberg, Isbrandts Ides, Bell, and others, who would never credit the Siberians, who told them that mammoths are amphibious animals.

ON THE NARWAL.

The narwal or narwhal, monodon, monoceros, sea unicorn, or sword fish, is sometimes more than twenty feet long from the mouth to the tail; and at once distinguishable from every other species of whale,

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by its very long horn-like tooth, which is generally straight, of a white or yellowish white colour, spirally wreathed throughout its whole length, and gradually tapers to a sharp point.

The horn or tooth measures from six to ten feet in length, and proceeds from a socket on one side of the upper jaw, having a large cavity at its base or root, running through the greater part of its whole length. In young ones, and sometimes in those that are full grown, there are two teeth, but in general the narwal is found with a single tooth, the socket of the other being closed, or at most but obscurely visible; and now and then the appearance of a second tooth, in an extremely small state, or just beginning to emerge, is perceptible, as if intended by nature to supply the place of the other, if broken or cast.

It is commonly seen in the small open or unfrozen spots, towards the coasts of the northern seas. To such places the narwals resort in multitudes for the conveniency of breathing, and because they are sure to find near the shores a due supply of food.

They are taken by means of harpoons. The flesh is eaten by the Greenlanders raw, boiled, and dried; the intestines and oil are also used as food; the tendons make good thread: and the teeth serve the purpose of hunting horns, as well as that of building tents and houses *.

There are several narwals' horns in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; some are bent like a cork-screw pulled nearly straight.

* * * *

The narwals are caught in prodigious numbers, near Kamtchatka †, at Weygat's Straits ‡, and in most parts of the Arctic seas.

* Vide Ree's Cyc. "Monodon." † Le Bruyn, Vol I. p. 138.
‡ De la Martiniere.

"On the 20th August, 1728, they saw forty persons on board four small boats, they were Tschudskois. They had with them dried fish, fox skins, and four narwal's teeth, which they exchanged for pins and needles, with the seamen. These people said, that they travel with their rein deer as far the river Kovyma, and one of them said he had been at the foot of Anadirski †." * * *

"The horns are sometimes *found* near the mouth of the Lena, and at Kamtchatka. I have seen at Tobolsk one of these twisted horns which are often put in the shop windows of druggists, three Russian ells long ‡."

The horn of the narwal has been found *in the earth*, near the rivers Indigerska and Anadir §.

* * * *

A throne, made for the Danish monarch, is said to be still preserved in the castle of Rosenberg, composed entirely of narwals' teeth, the material being anciently esteemed more valuable than gold ||.

* * * *

"They found a great dead fish, round like a porpoise, twelve feet long, having a horn five feet ten inches long, growing out of the snout, wreathed, and straight like a wax taper; and might be thought to be a sea-unicorn: the top of it was broken. It was reserved as a jewel by Queen Elizabeth's commandment in her wardrobe of robes, and is still at Windsor to be seen **."

† Captain Behring, in Harris, II. 1020. ‡ Strahlenberg, p. 380.

§ Encyc. Brit. "Siberia." Strahlenberg, pp. 380, 405. There is part of a fossil narwal's horn in the museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

|| Shaw's Zoology, Vol. II. part. II. p. 476.

** Sir Martin Frobisher's Voyage, in 1577. Purchas, Vol. I. 917. B. These horns, like those of the rhinoceros, were much valued as supposed antidotes to poison.

* * * *

The horns of the narwal have contributed their share to increase the misapprehensions about the *numbers of mammoths' horns* said to have been found. They are about the same length as those of the elephant, are found in the earth, in the same regions, and are spirally twisted.

CHAPTER XVII.

On the rapid changes which the surface of the Earth undergoes from Floods, Earthquakes, and other Causes.

THE object of this chapter is to endeavour to prove, that, in consequence of the changes to which the surface of the earth is subject from floods of rivers, earthquakes, and other accidents, it is very difficult to form a *satisfactory* decision as to the *causes* of the depths or situations in which the fossil bones of animals have been buried.

* * * *

It has been remarked that we should commence our researches in geology, with subjecting to a careful examination what nature produces, as it were, under our own eyes; such as the manifold alterations that have taken place in the physiognomy of tracts of country, almost within the memory of man. How scanty are the genuine observations we possess on the process of alluvial deposition! on the detritus accumulated at the foot of mountains by means of the decomposition of various rocks! How little do we know of the process employed to produce petrifactions! and yet many of these will admit of consider-

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able elucidation, by applying to them sound principles of logic and induction†."

* * * *

Camden, out of Giraldus, reports that a part of Pembrokeshire anciently ran out, in the form of a promontory, towards Ireland; as appears by a speech of king William Rufus, "that he could easily with his ships make a bridge over the sea, so that he might pass on foot from thence into Ireland." This tract of ground being all buried under deep sands, during the reign of Henry the Second, was, by the violence of a mighty storm, so far uncovered, that many stumps of great trees appeared fastened in the earth, and the strokes of the axe upon them, as if they had been cut but yesterday; so that it now made a show of a wood, rather than a strand. Such is the wonderful change of all things ‡.

* * * *

A vast tract of land at the eastern mouth of the Ganges, (where formerly stood the city of Bangalla, a place of great antiquity), has disappeared in a short period.

Extensive islands are formed in the channel of the Ganges during an interval far short of that of man's life. The Cosa, equal to the Rhine, once ran by Purneah; its junction now is forty-five miles higher up §.

* * * *

"The evident state of decay prevailing in these calcareous moun-

† Rees's Cyc. "Geology." ‡ Bishop Hakewill's Apology, p. 34.
§ Rennell's Memoir, pp. 57, 265.

tains, the divided rocks fronting the eminences, and the whole situation, render it probable that the river Belbec anciently flowed through the valley of Kara-Ilas, which is at present watered only by a small stream of the Souk; and though the former now runs at a considerable distance from this place, yet its current is so powerful and rapid, that it may in past ages have dissevered the heights above mentioned †.

* * * *

"An inundation at Dagenham, in Essex, made a breach in the Thames wall one hundred yards wide, and twenty feet deep in some places; by which means a number of trees were laid bare, which had been buried for many ages: one was a large oak, with most of its bark and some of its head and roots: the others were alder, or horn-beam: one had the sign of an axe; its head had been lopped off. Many think they have lain in that state since Noah's flood, but I think them to be ruins of some later age ‡."

* * * *

"The city of Atria, also called Hadria, we are certain, was formerly on the edge of the coast; it is now fifteen miles and a half distant from the nearest part of the mouth of the Adige; and the extreme point of the alluvial promontory is farther advanced into the sea six miles §."

On a reconnu à Hadria, actuellement Adria, l'existence d'une couche de terre parsemée de débris de poteries Etrusques, sans melange d'aucun ouvrage de fabrique Romaine. L'Etrusque et le Romain se

† Pallas. Journey in the Crimea. ‡ Phil. Trans. No. 335.
§ M. Prony. Supplement to Cuvier's Theory of the Earth.

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trouvent melés dans une couche superieure, sur laquelle on a decouvert les vestiges d'un theatre, l'une et l'autre couche sont fort abaissées au dessous du sol actuel *.

* * * *

The Keta falls into the Oby, and winds so frequently as to astonish the traveller, when at night he perceives how near he is to the place he left at noon. The natives use dogs to draw their sledges, they cannot use horses, the snow being sometimes a fathom deep upon the Oby†. The borders of the Tobol are low, and subject to be overflowed in the spring, yet they are inhabited by Mahomedan Tartars and Russians ‡.

* * * *

" The last overflowing of the Volga formed a new bank of seven feet high above the common bed of the river §." * * *

When the snow melts, the Oby, Jenesai, and Lena, swell to such a degree, as to become torrents, and carry away with them considerable pieces of mountains ||.

* * * *

" My route lay along the Colyma, Zysanska, Omekon, Okola, and Indigerska, all of of which are large, rapid, dangerous, and almost im-

* Cuvier.

† The reader may judge, by the quantity of snow, what immense inundations and rapid torrents must take place in spring. Milton (Historical Works, Vol. II. p. 135) mentions, that the Jenesai, on the western side, overflows about seventy leagues.

‡ Isbrants Ides

§ Captain Cochrane's Journey, p. 84.

|| Abul Ghazi, Vol. II. 658. Strahlenberg, p. 124.

passable rivers. It is but twenty years since the present centre of the river was the centre of the city of Selinginsk†.

* * * *

In 1788, near Aix in Provence, in quarrying limestone of a deep grey, and soft, but which hardens in the air, the strata were separated from each other by a bed of sand mixed with clay. After the first ten beds were removed, the inferior surface of the eleventh, at forty-five feet deep, was covered with shells: the stones of this bed being removed, under a stratum of argillaceous sand, stumps of columns, and fragments of stones (like the quarry) half wrought, were found; and also coins, handles of hammers, and a board one inch thick and seven feet long, broken, but the pieces all there, and could be joined: it was like the boards used by quarry men, and worn in the same manner. The stones had not been changed, but the pieces of wood were changed into agate ‡.

* * * *

" There was found in the year 1714, upon sinking a well on the top of the hill, near Tobolsky, *sixty-four fathoms* deep in the earth, an oaken beam, quite black, not round, but *shaped.*

It happens every year that the sea swells so high on the east side of Tartary, in the bay of Lama, near the habitations of the Koræiki and Lamuti, that whales and other great sea animals are carried up into several rivers, and, when the water falls, are left upon the shore §."

* * * *

† Capt. Cochrane, pp. 335, 473.

‡ Count Bournon. Phil. Mag. Vol. LVII. p. 458. § Strahlenberg, p. 405.

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During the battle gained by Hannibal at Thrasymene there was an earthquake which overthrew large portions of many cities in Italy, turned rapid rivers out of their course, and levelled mountains †.

* * * *

Cunusium, in Apulia, where Hannibal was defeated, and five of his elephants were killed ‡, was destroyed by an earthquake in 1694 §.

* * * *

Pisa is only four miles from the sea; its port was anciently at the mouth of the Arno. According to Strabo, the Ausar flowed into the Arno at Pisa, though it now falls into the sea, at the distance of at least ten miles from it. Rees's Cyc. "Pisa."

* * * *

"There is no country upon the globe which is not subject to earthquakes. The histories of all times record an immense series of them. There is hardly a month, week, or perhaps a single day unmarked by their devastations. Seneca, Strabo, Callisthenes, Pausanias, Pliny, Thucydides, and others, mention a variety of stupendous effects produced by earthquakes, either preceding or during their lifetimes; such as the separation of mountains, the appearance and disappearance of islands, the destruction of a great many cities, some of which were entirely swallowed up. Under the reign of the Emperor Gallienus, A. D. 264, the greatest part of Italy was shaken; various fissures of the

† Livy, B. XXII. ‡ Livy, B. XXIII. § Rees's Cyc. "Canosa."

earth repeatedly opened and closed, swallowing up a vast number of human beings.

In the year 365, the shores of the Mediterranean were left dry, but the tide soon returned with the weight of an immense and irresistible deluge, which was severely felt on the coasts of Sicily, Dalmatia, &c.

During the reign of Justinian, each year is marked by earthquakes: enormous caverns were opened, the sea alternately advanced and retreated, a mountain was torn from Libanus.

In the kingdom of Naples, near the Avernian lake, a hill rose and was formed by the accession of ignited matter, in one night, in height one thousand one hundred and twenty-seven English feet from the level of the sea.

In the year 1783, there were, in Calabria, five hundred and one shocks, of the first degree; two hundred and thirty-six of the second; three hundred and seven of the third and fourth degrees; besides five great commotions, which shook, altered, and destroyed the whole face of the country. The interruption of rivers, in consequence of the fall of hills and the alteration of the ground, caused unappreciable damage †."

* * * *

There is a cause of change on the surface of the earth, which has not, as far as the writer is acquainted with the subject, been sufficiently regarded: the most obvious causes are sometimes the last which attract notice. It is *dust*. The operation of this agent is so slow in its progress, that it does not excite much attention: but, on reflection, it will be found a powerful one, when local circumstances favour it. In caves, meadows, marshes, ponds, rivers, &c. so situated as to retain

† Rees's Cyc. "Earthquakes."

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the dust blown into them, it will be easily allowed that a sixteenth of an inch in depth may be accumulated in one year: which in a century would be six inches. Have any fossil remains been found, in caverns, like that at Kirkdale or in other places, covered with the accumulated dust of the surrounding soil?

If we consider the more rapid effects of *sand,* we may well suppose that an oasis in Africa is the top of a hill, standing in a once fertile country.

Sand, by being *blown* in, has probably *principally* contributed to fill up the branch of the Oxus, which formerly discharged its waters into the Caspian sea *; and rivulets must often change their courses from this cause.

Many more instances of the mutations of the surface might be produced: but those contained in this chapter are deemed sufficient to show, how difficult and hazardous it is to judge of the *cause* of fossil bones having been buried in any particular place; either by their depth, or by the strata with which they are covered.

* It has been said, that this branch of the Oxus was designedly impeded, from political motives.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Erroneous Notions respecting Giants, Mammoths, Extinct Species of Quadrupeds, and Spiral Tusks.——Concluding Remarks.

GIANTS AND MAMMOTHS.

THE wonder and mystery connected with the discovery of large fossil bones, have existed from the earliest times, arising, no doubt, from the sciences of anatomy and osteology not having been studied by the ancients *. The merit of dissipating these errors will be due to the laborious and valuable accuracy of very modern authors, and to the Baron Cuvier in particular.

The bones of whales and elephants, till within a century or two, have been imagined and believed to be the remains of giants. This notion would have been confirmed in the minds of those attached to the marvellous, if the skeleton of the child with the head of an elephant, born at Rome in the year 209 before Christ †, had been discovered in the seventeenth century, without its being known that it was a *lusus*

* "Augustus adorned his palace at Capreæ with the huge limbs of sea-monsters and wild beasts, which some affect to call the bones of giants, and the arms of old heroes."—Suetonius, LXXII.

† Catrou, Vol. III. p. 362.

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naturæ. The particulars of the resemblance are not stated: but the accuracy of modern naturalists would have detected the truth.

Since the introduction of the equivocal word *Mammoth,* giants are no longer thought of. Whales, elephants, narwals, mastodontes, walruses, and even oxen or buffaloes, are *now* all mammoths †. A very few instances of giants will suffice. Sertorius ‡, being in Lybia, found there buried the body of Antæus, being sixty cubits in length.

In the fourteenth year of the Emperor Henry II. the body of Pallas, the companion of Æneas, as it was thought, was dug up at Rome. It was found in height to equal the walls of that city §.

In Asia Minor and Syria the ancients pretend to have found giants' bodies. The pretended body of Geryon, found in Upper Lydia, was probably an elephant's. Pausanias relates that great horns, (tusks, no doubt), are often discovered there. He also mentions a body eleven cubits in length, found in the bed of the Orontes, near Antioch||. With respect to elephants' bones, in particular, the mistakes have been very numerous ⸸.

* * * *

"We very justly suspect, (that which Suetonius hath not spared to write), that the bones of huge beasts or sea monsters both have, and still do pass current for the bones of giants. When Claudius entered this island, he brought with him a mighty army both of horse and foot, as also elephants, whose strangeness then amazed the Britons, and whose carcasses falling in this land, their late bones found, no doubt, have bred our error, being supposed to be of men, and not beasts. A very notable story to this purpose we have recorded by Camerarius,

† See Buffon, Vol. XXVIII. p. 233; and Chap. VI. of this Vol.
‡ Plutarch.
§ Hakewill's Apology, p. 225.
|| Cuvier, p. 152.
⸸ Parkinson, Vol. III. 341.

who reports that Francis the First, king of France, being desirous to know the truth of those things which were commonly spread touching the strength and stature of Rouland, nephew of Charlemagne, caused his sepulchre to be opened, wherein his bones and bow were found rotten, but his armour sound, though covered with rust; which the king commanding to be scoured off, and putting it upon his own body, found it so to fit him, as, thereby, it appeared that Rouland exceeded him little in bigness and stature of body, though he himself was not exceedingly tall or stout*."

EXTINCT SPECIES.

It has frequently, on the examination of fossil bones, been pronounced that the species to which they belonged are extinct. The general reader finds himself much puzzled to apply an accurate meaning to the word *species*.

The ferocious powerful bull-dog, and the gentle diminutive spaniel, are of the same species; as are likewise the Shetland and the Flanders horses. If naturalists meant that word to signify that animals are of different species, because they will not *perpetuate* a breed, they have not always used it in that decisive sense; and, moreover, it is now known that the dog and the wolf will breed, and that hybrids thus produced, are capable of having offspring. The same is the case with the horse and the ass, as has been ascertained in New Holland.

"Let us examine two elephants, the most dissimilar that can be conceived, we shall not discover the smallest difference in the number and articulation of the bones, the structure of the teeth, &c.†"

* Bishop Hakewill's Apology, p. 43. † Cuvier. Theory of the Earth, p. 118.

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There are two species of living elephants described, named by Cuvier Capensis and Indicus; for the full description of which the reader is referred to Chapter XV.

The very slight and imperfect knowledge which we possess of living elephants, has shown, that in the single district of Tipperah, there are three kinds.

I. Short-legged, full-bodied, thick-tusked, strong elephants.

II. Long-legged, thin-bodied, thin-tusked, and weaker. *Many indistinct varieties are produced by the intermixture of these two breeds.*

III. Males, the tusks of which are like those of females, and sometimes scarcely protrude beyond the flesh of that part of the proboscis which covers them; these tusks *always point downwards.*

The African *female* skeleton in the museum at Paris (the animal was seventeen years in the menagerie of Louis XIV.) has larger tusks than any Indian *male* of the same height.

Le Vaillant speaks of a race of elephants which never have tusks.

For the following reasons it cannot, on our imperfect information, be fairly concluded that the fossil kinds are extinct.

I. There are perhaps thirty large kingdoms in Africa, the living elephant of which has not been seen by naturalists.

II. There are many parts of Hindostan, particularly the Northern, the living elephant of which has not in *modern times* been brought to Europe.

III. There has probably never been brought under the examination of naturalists an elephant from Malacca, Sumatra, Siampa, Cambodia, Cochin China, Siam, Laos, Tonquin, Yunnan, Quangsi, Pegu, Burmah, Silhet, Assam, Tangut; most, if not all of them, were subject to the Grand Khans, (Kublai and his grandson, Timur Kaan), whose great armies invaded Siberia for thirty years. There are perhaps fif-

ty extensive countries in Africa and Asia, which possess wild elephants; not a single molar tooth of which has ever been seen by Europeans.

IV. There has never been a large full grown male elephant brought to England or France, since they were used by the Romans, for wars and sports: those now brought in ships, are five or ten years old, and do not live to attain a full size. Those brought for the purpose of war, were probably forty, fifty, or more, years old. Elephants attain the age of one hundred and twenty years, and perhaps, in modern times, there has never been one in Europe of the age of forty.

V. The very first specimens of living elephants, *not from Africa or Hindostan,* which have come under the eyes of naturalists, are from Ceylon; and the jaws of two elephants were found to differ in shape: also, "Monsieur Camper possede une machoire de Ceylon *qui s'écarte beaucoup* de celle de l'espece vivant dont nous avons parlé jus qu'ici*."

VI. Among the grinders from Hindostan, lately presented (in 1824) to the Royal College of Surgeons, there is one which is more like the African specimens than any hitherto seen.

VII. If we confine ourselves strictly to the definition "that there is no difference in any two elephants in the number of bones, or structure of the teeth," as in the dog and the horse, then are there more than one species? Is not each sort only a variety?

VIII. The *curvature* of the tusks, in some fossil specimens, has been deemed as indicating a different species; and yet males in India, with tusks scarcely beyond the flesh of the proboscis, and *always pointing downwards,* and females in Africa with tusks larger than those of Indian males of the same height, are not called different species.

* Cuvier, p. 185.

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Does scientific arrangement admit the difference in the surfaces of the grinders to form a distinct species; and at the same time exclude from that privilege the remarkable contrariety in the direction of the growth, and in the sizes, both of the tusks of the males and of the females? Or, does the number of nails decide the species? or the shape of the skull?

The numerous and unknown kinds of living elephants, and the little additional knowledge acquired by modern researches, make it appear quite unphilosophical to pronounce fossil remains to be of *extinct* species; for it may, with great apparent probability, be concluded that the Romans and Moguls did not, either of them, procure their elephants from those countries, which have supplied naturalists with the specimens from which that inference has been drawn.

Senegal may probably have furnished the Carthaginians with elephants: Gætulia is, however, the country named.

Egypt* was a Roman province for above six centuries †, during the

* The ancient Egyptians were very different from the modern. When the Emperor Adrian was in Egypt, he wrote a letter to the consul Servianus. "The Egyptians are an inconstant, light people. Those who worship the god Serapis are nevertheless Christians, and those who call themselves Bishops, are also votaries to Serapis. When the patriarch of Alexandria comes hither, he is by some obliged to worship Serapis; by others, Christ. They are seditious, vain, and injurious. No one lives idle in Alexandria: every one appears to follow some art, such as making glass, paper, or linen: the gouty in hand or foot find something that they can work at, and even the blind are employed. I have restored to this city its ancient privileges, for which they thanked me while I was present; but I was no sooner gone, than they spoke a thousand things against me: so I leave them to their eggs and chickens, which how they hatch, (that is, in a dunghill), it is a shame to mention. A priest gave me three cups of changeable colours: I dedicate them to you and my sister for festival days; and take care that your young son does not handle them too roughly, and break them."—Augustan Hist. Saturninus.

† From the conquest by Julius Cæsar, B. C. 48, to the reduction of Egypt by Amrou, the general of the Caliph Omar, A. D. 640: at which period Alexandria

rage for amphitheatrical games*. Augustus, by his lieutenant Petreius, subdued countries much to the south of Egypt; Nubia and the kingdom of Meroe submitted to the Romans†.

The same arguments may be applied to induce the belief that it is equally hazardous to pronounce the fossil rhinoceroses to have belonged to extinct species; from the epigrams of Martial, we find that the Romans possessed both the single and the double horned kinds.

It must be particularly borne in mind, that the Romans procured their animals from the *interior* of Africa, and by land from *northern* India, while Europeans now bring those animals from the *coasts* of those countries.

It has been said, that, "the hyæna, elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus, found in the cave at Kirkdale, belong to species that are now extinct, and to genera that exclusively live in warm climates; and which are now found associated only in the southern part of Africa, near the Cape ‡." Were we to seek the animals agreeing with the Kirkdale list, they might be found *forty or fifty degrees* of latitude nearer than the Cape is to Kirkdale: either at Senegal, Bornou, Dar-Fur, or Abyssinia: with the remarkable exception of the tiger, which

contained four thousand palaces, twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetable food, forty thousand tributary Jews, four thousand baths, and four hundred theatres or places of amusement.—Letter of Amrou to Omar. Africa, south of Egypt, was known by the Romans in the reigns of Augustus and Adrian as far as Lat. 14° South.—See Esprit des Loix, Liv. XXI. Ch. X.

* The Emperor Aurelian, in his letter to the Senate, says, "We have defeated, taken, and killed Firmus, the Egyptian robber, (he had assumed the purple in the remains of Zenobia's country); there is no more now, my Romans, to be afraid of. The tribute of Egypt, which that wicked robber had suspended, will now come entire to you. Entertain yourselves at the pastimes and shows of the circus.—Bernard, Vol. II. p. 304.

† See Bruce, Vol. I. p. 477. Rees's Cyc. "Abyssinia."

‡ Quarterly Review, LVII. p. 147.

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is supposed to be "peculiar to Asia*." Adanson relates, that there are tigers in Senegal: but Chenier, the French consul, says, that what are called tigers in Morocco are only leopards, the royal tiger is there unknown †.

The fossil grinders of elephants do not resemble those of the Bengal and African living kinds; therefore, it cannot be admitted that the animals of the south have formerly lived in the north, their species not being perfectly identical ‡. The Nyl-gau is but recently known to modern Europe. The Om-Kergay, mentioned by Burckhardt §, will probably turn out to be an animal supposed extinct. Under all these circumstances, is it not in such cases more just and safe to say, that "*the true analogous living animal is not known* ||," than to pronounce it extinct, whether it be reckoned by naturalists a *species* or a *variety?*

SPIRAL TUSKS.

In the accounts of tusks, or horns, as they are generally named, which have been found in Siberia, it is often remarked, that they were *spiral.* This word has not a precise meaning; and in the inquiries made by Europeans, among the Ostiacks and Tungusians, regarding the number and shape of the tusks, teeth, or horns; the word, or even the description, of spiral, will apply to the elephant, the morse, and the narwal; tusks or horns of all of which are frequently found in a fossil state, in Siberia ⸸.

* Rees's Cyc. "Felis."

† Present state of Morocco, Eng. Ed. Vol. I. p. 171. The *first tiger seen by the Romans* was presented to Augustus by the Indian Ambassadors.—Crevier, "Augustus." See p. 335 of this Vol.

‡ Rees's Cyc. "Bones."

§ Quarterly Review, LVIII. page 521.

|| Cuvier.

⸸ In Chap. XV. it has been shown that the ivory used in Britain, in eleven

In Todd's Edition of Johnson's Dictionary we find,

" *Spire.*—1. A curve line; any thing wreathed or contorted, every wreath being in a different plane; a curl; a twist; a wreath.

2. Any thing growing up taper; a round pyramid, so called, perhaps, because a line drawn round and round in less and less circles would be a spire; a steeple.

3. The top or uppermost point.

Spiral.—Curve; winding; circularly involved like a screw.

The European travellers, whose inquiries have been about elephants and spiral tusks, have no doubt considered all the replies from the Siberians as confirmatory of *elephants'* tusks being meant; and if those natives added their word *mammoth,* (with them the morse), no foreigner would doubt it. Europeans did not ever think of inquiring if mammoths were amphibious, but treated that assertion as ignorance. The errors every way relating to the whole of this subject are endless. " On a donné souvent pour ivoire malade des portions de dents canines de morse dont la texture est naturellement grenue. Il y en à de décrites sous ce titre dans Daubenton lui meme †."

* * * *

Fossil ivory has been found very far back in history. There is nothing to wonder at from this circumstance, when we see how very

years, required thirty thousand tusks. How many elephants must be killed annually to supply the vast empire of China! It may be presumed that there are several elephant countries adjoining that extensive empire, the tusks of which have never been brought to Europe. If there be a race of elephants, with what are called spiral tusks; or if among ordinary animals there sometimes are found individuals of that description, they would no doubt be carefully preserved for the Grand Khans, or as animals of superior value.

† Cuvier, p. 49.

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much ivory was in use in king David's and Solomon's reigns; and there can be no reason to suppose that it was then first introduced. —See Psalms, XLV. 8. 1 Kings, Ch. X. 18. Ch. XXII. 39. No fossil ivory can be mentioned till five or six hundred years afterwards: Herodotus, the first profane historian, having written his work B. C. 445.

* * * *

Female elephants, or young ones, rarely occur in the fossil state. This is as might be expected, as males only are employed in battle. Females led the way for Hannibal's elephants, when he found some difficulty in crossing the Rhone. They are employed to carry loads, and to keep the males tractable: but they were not likely to be found in such numbers as the males. Pyrrhus lost a battle at Beneventum through a young elephant and its mother. (See p. 293).

* * * *

We learn, from a passage in St. Chrysostom, that the beasts intended for the public games were kept in the *environs* of the cities; and Procopius makes particular mention of a spacious place in Rome, called the *Vivarium,* appropriated to that use. Agreeing with this custom, we have seen that remains have been found at Kew, Brentford, Ilford, and Romford, near London. At Kirkdale, near York. At Walton, near Colchester. At the distance of three leagues from Verona. Three leagues from Placentia, &c. This is too systematical to be accidental. The *natural* deaths of the animals, at these places, in a few centuries, would account for great numbers of fossil remains.

The reason why we so seldom meet with the mention of games and spectacles given by the Romans, is, that those historians, whose

works have reached us, deemed such subjects beneath their notice. "Few events during the second consulship of Nero, occurred worthy commemoration," says Tacitus, "unless any writer liked to fill pages in magnifying the foundations and wooden structure of the new amphitheatre. But to the dignity of the Roman people it belongs, that, in their history, should be inserted illustrious events only; and in the city journals such descriptions as these †."

These city journals were posted in the streets of Rome. The writer has seen, he forgets in what book, a copy of one, which contains as follows: "This morning, Caius Julius Cæsar departed for Bætica in South Spain, having, since his appointment to that government, been detained in Rome by his creditors."

We have also seen that it was the policy of Cæsar, and probably of other generals not to diminish their fame by mentioning the merits of the elephants.

* * * *

It is more than two thousand years since elephants were brought by the Greeks and Romans into Europe; and how many animals since that time may have been, in different parts of Europe, exhibited for the sake of private gain? All these skeletons, whatever their number be, must be in existence. Those brought by land from Asia, before the discovery of the Cape, were probably large.

An instance has scarcely occurred within the knowledge of the writer, of abstruse theorists ever attributing a fossil animal to this source. The number is possibly greater than all the remains that have been found. The same reasoning equally applies to other animals.

† Tacitus, B. XIII. Ch. 29.

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It is usual, in Siberia, to attribute the remains of elephants to the invasions of Tamerlane; the writer does not claim one animal *in Siberia* from Timur-Bec's wars in that country, but from those of Timur Kaan, a century before Tamerlane.

After perusing Chapter XVII. and the following description of the situations in which fossil remains of quadrupeds have generally been found; it will not appear very improbable that the lapse of five or six hundred years in Siberia, and of fifteen hundred or two thousand years in Europe, are sufficient to have placed them under the circumstances described by those who have discovered them.

* * * *

"The bones of species (of quadrupeds) which are, apparently, the same with those that still exist alive, are never found except in the very latest alluvial depositions, or those which are either formed on the sides of rivers, or bottoms of ancient lakes and marshes now dried up; or in the substance of beds of peat; or in the fissures and caverns of certain rocks; or at small depths below the present surface, in places where they may have been overwhelmed by debris, or even buried by man.

Ancient formations may have been transported into new situations by partial inundations, and may thus have covered recent formations containing bones; they may have been carried over them by debris so as to surround these recent bones, and may have mixed with them the productions of the ancient sea. The true character of their repositories has almost always been overlooked or misunderstood by the people, who found these bones, not being aware of the necessity to be observant †."

† Cuvier. Theory of the Earth, p. 110.

* * * *

Remains of African and Asiatic animals have been found in the same place—the hippopotamus and tiger at Kirkdale—tigers are not known, from any decisive authority, to inhabit Africa; nor are hippopotami found in Asia.

At Walton, near Harwich, the hippopotamus, elephant, rhinoceros *, &c. were found with the Irish fossil elk. Here we have animals of hot and cold countries mixed together. (Could the high prices which the Romans gave for all strange animals have caused the extirpation of the elk in Ireland? One of these animals having been found, which had been wounded by an arrow or spear, it is no longer thought to be antediluvian †.)

The rein-deer, along with animals of hot climates, has been found near Paris. These would, indeed, be odd effects of a diluvian operation. With respect to the supposition, that England and France were once hot countries; how do the elk and rein-deer support that hypothesis? But when we find that Severus lived at York, and that he is known to have possessed tigers, animals so rarely exhibited, and that he had a triumphal ceremony there, and that all the other bones are *precisely* of such animals as were usually employed in Italy ‡; and, if we add to this the rein-deer found at Paris, where the Roman Emperor Gratian had a park, and Scythian hunting friends from the

* Both the one horned and the two horned were exhibited by the Romans.

† Vast numbers have recently been found in Ireland. Seven adults and a small skeleton in one place.—See Mr. Weaver's letter in the Philosophical Transactions, 1825, Part II.

‡ Severus had visited Memphis, the labyrinth, and pyramids, with great care, and was much pleased with his voyage into Egypt, because of the strangeness of the places and animals which he saw there.—Spartian.

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Volga; who can possibly doubt these animals being of Roman origin? Are not such historical facts preferable to any theory, however ingenious?

* * * *

Captain Webb found some fossil bones of deer, small horse and bear, at an elevation of sixteen thousand feet, in the Hemalaya mountains †. The musk deer and the bear are natives of those regions; and the horse called Tanyan, a small species, it is well known, is likewise a native of Thibet ‡. There seems nothing more extraordinary in this, than there would be in finding fossil remains of wolves on the highest mountains in Britain, and of which in that island there must be great numbers; they may possibly sometimes have been mistaken, by cursory observers, for hyænas.

* * * *

With regard to the mastodontes found with the other animal remains in Europe, if the arguments here offered be not overturned, the natural inference will be, that mastodontes are a species of elephant; and as likely not to be extinct as any of the other animals §.

† Quarterly Review, LVII. p. 156.

‡ See Rees's Cyc. "Thibet." Rennell's Memoir, p. 225.

§ Since writing the above, there appears good reason to suppose that the most hopeless of the *extinct* elephants is now in existence. "Commenced preparations for my departure from Choco. In the evening made an excursion with Señor Zereso, Don Luis, and others, to a small hill commanding the town; when, the evening being tolerable, we had a fine view of a ridge of mountains, which divides this valley from the Pacific Ocean: their summits are entirely covered with snow. The smoke of a volcano is to be seen, which is situated on the other side of the summit of the mountains. From a small chain of hills, near to this range of mountains, with a good glass, have been seen numbers of the carnivorous elephants,

A full sized elephant is as large as any of the mastodontes found in America.

* * * *

Remains of elephants and other animals are sometimes met with in places where it is difficult to account for them by the vicinity of a Roman camp or city; but in whatever country amphitheatres have been in use, the beasts intended for the spectacles must have been conveyed from one place to another in all possible directions.

* * * *

One elephant has been found in Italy only about a week old †. As females attended the armies, and might be pregnant when caught, as elephants will breed in the tamed state, and as Domitian had a herd of them in the Rutulian forest, this is a very natural circumstance.

* * * *

The roving life of the Mongols, and their passion for the chase, have contributed to spread fossil bones. "From the Danube to the rising sun they have divided Scythia amongst them, every captain knowing the bounds of his pasture; in the winter, descending southward, and in the

feeding on the plains which skirt these frozen regions. Their enormous teeth have occasionally been seen: but no one has yet succeeded in killing one of these animals, or, indeed, in getting near to them. There are great quantities of wild cattle in these plains, to kill which the Indians sometimes make excursions. This chain of mountains runs north-east and south-west."—Captain C. S. Cochrane's Journal in Columbia, Vol. II. p. 390.

† Quarterly Review, LVII. p. 153.

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summer, ascending northward*." The Mongols pass the summer on the banks of rivers: the winter at the foot of hills. In all times, and in all countries, they have gone northward during summer †.

* * * *

Rhinoceroses have been sent in presents to great distances. "The barbarians of the south, called Hoam-tchi, or yellow fingers, sent to Hiao-Pim-Hoam-Ti, great grandson of Yu-en-ti, a rhinoceros from the distance of thirty thousand li, in the year two of the Christian era ‡." This present was probably from Kanoge; the Punjab abounds with rhinoceroses. The distance by land would be very great, in consequence of the mountains, but could not be near so considerable as that mentioned: or probably the ancient measure may have differed from the modern. The Mogul Emperor Akbar gave away, daily, elephants, horses, &c. to a great amount §.

* * * *

One of the most considerable historical convulsions, which may, very reasonably, be supposed to have supplied Siberia with a great number of elephants, is the expulsion of the Mongols from China, A. D. 1369. Not one syllable of the particulars of that great event has been met with. But when we contemplate the mighty establishments of the Grand Khan's court, and of his numerous empresses and children, whose travelling carriages were drawn by elephants; a multitude of

* Rubruquis. Purchas, Vol. I. p. 413.
† Du Halde, Vol. II. p. 264. De Guines, Vol. III. p. 146.
‡ De Guines, Vol. I. p. 29.
§ Ayeen Akbery, Vol. I. p. 221.

those beasts probably accompanied them, when they were driven into their original country. As to *numbers*, this source alone might possibly account for all the fossil remains*. In the terror, confusion, flight, and pursuit during this disastrous catastrophe, some elephants may have escaped from their guides, and have wandered in Siberia, till accident or age destroyed them: it has been shown that they bear cold which kills men and horses. Horses feed in the *open air all the winter by the Lena.* Elephants would find plenty of stimulating food on the banks of that river, cedars, larches, pines, &c. this sustenance might encourage the growth of the hair, with which we find nature has supplied them†. Whenever and wherever such animals died, the sudden and rapid floods would carry them, as well as trees and the broken banks of rivers, down the stream.

The original Mongol court was near Lake Baikal. We find that the Emperors of that race in Hindostan were attended, in their journies, by rhinoceroses‡, and all kinds of beasts, for combating and parade.—(See Chap VIII). And to these customs and accidents it is not doing any violence to probability to attribute the origin of the rhinoceroses and elephants that have been found to the north of Lake Baikal, and at the mouths of the rivers. In the year 1290, Kublai sent mathematicians into Siberia, to latitude 55°, and it is highly probable, that they were accompanied by many elephants§. We have seen, that the

* Marco Polo says, Kublai had five thousand elephants. About thirty years afterwards, Odoricus says, there were thirteen thousand. Maundevile shows, that the number must have been very great when he was at Pekin. Shah Rohk's ambassadors, in their style, guess them to amount to fifty thousand.

† On this subject, see page 446.

‡ Many countries, possessed by Kublai and his descendants, contained the one-horned rhinoceros. Sumatra, where the two-horned inhabits, partly belonged to Kublai, and from which rarities were sent to him.—See Ch. II.

§ See Ch. II. p. 67.

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Grand Khan sent often to an island, and to the shores of the Arctic Sea, for his falcons; and that he had elephants with him on his hunting parties (see Chap. II.); and also vast numbers of ger-falcons and peregrine falcons, and ten thousand falconers. It is therefore very likely, that elephants accompanied the persons who went to those regions, both for their safety and convenience. That territory, Yakutsk, is, upon Dela Croix's map, named northern Turquestan; and we find that Marco Polo was correctly acquainted with the customs of the inhabitants of Yakutsk. We have also seen, in Chapter III. that the Grand Khan of the Turks had elephants, and conquered to the frozen ocean in the sixth century*. In Chap. V. and Notes on the Map, 28 and 29, it is shown that Kublai's and Timur Kaan's wars, and invasions of Siberia, lasted near thirty years; that there were scarcely any other wars; that the dispute was for the *empire;* that Kublai always employed elephants in his wars since the battle with the king of Mien and Bangalla; that he possessed five thousand elephants; and that Timur Kaan was viceroy of the elephant provinces. Such is the paucity of materials with which to compose a *history* or description of these wars and revolutions, that it would often be as difficult to prove that horses were employed, as it is that elephants were used in their invasions. During the long rebellion of Kaidou we find that the Emperor Timur Kaan was *always obliged to keep numerous armies in the west* of Siberia†, which accounts

* These distant regions possess more attractions than are generally known: they afford the most valuable of the Siberian furs; (Abul Ghazi, notes, Vol. II. p. 639); mammoths (amphibious animals), whose teeth are preferred to gold by the Turks and Persians for their dagger-handles; (Muschkin Puschkin, in Pere Avril's Travels, p. 176); and the best falcons, the means of food and enjoyment to the Mongol Emperors (see Ch. II.) and to the whole country. No Tartar hut but has its hawk or falcon. (At Astracan). Olearius, p. 132.

† Marco Polo, p. 741, note 1499.

satisfactorily for the number of elephants' remains found in those quarters. CHAP. XVIII.

* * * *

The important sciences of geology and natural history have not yet by any means attained that perfection and certainty to which further researches will undoubtedly lead. If these historical notes be admitted as a proof that naturalists have been, with regard to *particular animals*, mistaken, still there is an ample field remaining for speculation and discoveries respecting the remains of others. Nor would a conclusion in favour of this disquisition reflect discredit on any former opinions; on the contrary, it would prove how ingenious such authors must have been, to gain converts to their conjectures. It does not appear that any naturalist has examined history in order to account for these bones; but, had such been the case, is it possible to suppose that any one of the arguments hitherto held with regard to these particular remains of animals, could, in their minds, have prevailed against such numerous proofs as are here exhibited of their more probable origin?

In those cases, where history was procurable, the conviction seems irresistible. In other instances, when we consider how imperfect the Roman history is, and how defective in recording the details of such a subject as is here treated of: that the Circensian and Amphitheatrical games, and the Sacrifices, were continued for a series of centuries; that the amphitheatres of turf, and nearly all of those constructed of wood, cannot be traced or known: that with regard to Britain and Siberia, not one word of native history exists, relating to those periods which are here considered; yet, that the constructive evidence is, notwithstanding, so strong, that, compared with the difficulties of a

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diluvian origin, the hypothesis of a rotary axis, or of an inherent heat in the earth independently of the sun, it surely claims a decided preference, as offering proofs that do not violate the common actions of society. The extensive space in which these bones are spread by the Mongols, must not surprise us, when we find that the Grand Khan Octai with a mighty force was carrying on a war in China, while his nephew was trampling Russia, Poland, &c. under foot with six hundred thousand cavalry*.

TO CONCLUDE.

The Romans and Mongols have subdued Europe and Asia: and, in their wars, amusements, and customs, they have employed certain animals, the fossil remains of exactly the same kinds of which are found faithful to the residences and tracks of those conquerors. To resist this probable origin with success, it must be shown that, by the laws, or by the casualties of nature, the fossil remains of the very same kinds of animals, mixed together in the variety of menagerie collections, some peculiar to Africa, some peculiar to Asia; some natives of torrid climates, some suitable to the coldest regions, are found in the very places where we might have expected the Roman and Mongol bones. It must be recollected that the appearance of those bones, found in many parts of Europe, induces a belief that the animals had been alive on the spot, and had met with *violent deaths.*

The subject of this volume being of high interest to geography, natural history and geology, it is to be lamented, that it has not been investigated by some one better qualified in the classical

* P. de la Croix, pp. 385, 387. See Chap. V. of this Volume.

and oriental languages, and other requisite acquirements, to do it full justice: the author professing no other attainments than those of a general reader, who has passed most of the leisure hours afforded by a commercial life, in his library; and this being his first literary attempt.

MAP OF ASIA.

Explanation of the Flags upon the Map; showing the Conquests of the Mongols; and some of the Places of Residence of the Family of Genghis Khan, &c.

GENGHIS KHAN vanquished the preceding Grand Khan, A.D. 1202; and in the year 1280, the Mongol empire, the largest that ever was known, had attained its greatest extent, and was divided as follows:

Kublai was the Grand Khan. He was the grandson of Genghis; he resided at Pekin, called also Cambalek, Khanbalig, and Cambalu. He governed all China; all the countries between Hindoostan and China down to the ocean; part of Sumatra; Thibet; Tangut; Great Tartary, *from* the country of the Ighurs to the sea of Japan, including Corea; the eastern division of Siberia, to the Arctic sea and the straits of Anian (Behring's).

Kaidou, great grandson of Genghis, governed central Siberia, and some of the countries in the southern neighbourhood of the little Altai mountains.

Sheibani (grandson of Genghis) or one of his descendants, resided at Genghidin or Sibir (near Tobolsk); and governed the western division of Siberia, to the mouth of the river Yaik which runs into the Caspian sea.

Batou's grandson, consequently a great-great-grandson of Genghis, governed Capschac, and resided at Serai on the Volga. This empire comprised Little Tartary, (the Crimea), and was bounded on the east by the river Yaik, on the west by the river Don, on the south by the Caucasus mountains, and on the north by the Arctic sea.—All Russia was tributary.

Zagatai's (son of Genghis) descendant reigned over Zagatai; which comprised Transoxiana, or Maverulnere or Turan, the country of the Ighurs, Cashgar, the kingdom of Badachshan, and the city of Balk or Balich. He resided at Cashgar.

Abaca, (son of Hulacou) great grandson of Genghis, reigned over Persia to the Indus; Syria; Mesopotamia, (Bagdat); Chaldea; and Anatolia. He resided at Maraga.

Viceroys, always near relations of the reigning sovereigns, were spread over all the above countries, to govern subordinate districts as extensive as European monarchies: few particulars are known of the viceroyalties.

EXPLANATION OF THE FLAGS.

TAMERLANE passed this place with his army, and erected obelisks; and near which the great Ogus Khan (VII. century B. C.) had his residence. Ogus, so famous in the East, and his successors, were probably the Tartars, who waged war with China, and caused the wall to be built.—Du Halde, Vol. I. p. 164, &c. and pp. 88, 89 of this Volume. FLAG 1.

The first residence of the Mongol Siberian princes in the western division, was on the river Tura, where Tiumen now stands; it was called, in honour of the Grand Khan, Genghidin, and is still called so by the Tartars.—Tooke, Vol. II. p. 60. This Vol. p. 199. FLAG 2.

The Mongols afterwards quitted Genghidin, and built the city of Iska, which afterwards got the name of Sibir. It is near Tobolsk.—Tooke, Vol. II. p. 60. FLAG 3.

FLAG 4. Sheibani, the brother of Batou, at first possessed the countries about the Yaik, where he founded the famous golden horde; which territories were ceded to him by his brother, and from whence he made the conquests in Siberia. The remains of Saratchinsk on the Yaik are still visible.—Tooke, Vol. II. pp. 17, 60; Levesque, Vol. VIII. p. 268; and Vol. VII. p. 192. This Vol. p. 199.

FLAG 5. Mr. Adams found the ruins of ancient forts at the mouth of the Lena, and mutilated remains of grotesque figures.

To the shores and islands of this place the Grand Khan always sent for his ger-falcons and peregrine falcons: he kept 10,000 falconers.—See Marco Polo, Ch. L., where it is mentioned that the natives ride upon rein-deer; and this fact is confirmed by Mr. Adams, in the year 1805. See this Vol. p. 250.

The Yakutes were driven to the Frozen Ocean by the Mongols.—Tooke, Vol. II. p. 80.

These regions, near the mouths of the Lena and Indigerska, are called, in De la Croix's map to Sherefeddin, "Northern Turquestan."—See this Vol. p. 209.

FLAG 6. Birth place of Genghis Khan.—See Captain Cochrane's Pedestrian Journey, p. 489; and Chap. I. of this volume, first page.

FLAG 7. Tomb of Genghis Khan.—See Strahlenberg's Map, and Abul Ghazi, Vol. I. p. 145. This Vol. p. 43. Hereabouts Kublai and other Mogul princes were also interred.—See Marco Polo, p. 199, note.

FLAG 8. Shang-tu, Kublai Khan's summer palace.—See Chaunaiman in Du Halde's Map; and Marco Polo, p. 250. This Vol. p. 75.

FLAG 9. Caracorum. The capital of the Grand Khans.—See pp. 49—189.

FLAG 10. Olougyourt. Residence of the Grand Khan Octai; capital of the Grand Khan Keyouc.—Petis de la Croix, p. 389. This Vol. pp. 44, 189, 211.

FLAG 11. Great battle between Kublai and Nayan (eight hundred and sixty

thousand troops engaged). The Grand Khan being in a castle, placed upon the backs of four elephants.—See Astley's Collection, Vol. IV. p. 606. Marco Polo, p. 262. This Vol. p. 59.

Cambalec, or Cambalu, or Pekin. The capital of the Grand Khans from the accession of Kublai till the expulsion of the Mongols from China. A. D. 1369. FLAG 12.

The Don was the Mongol Frontier. FLAG 13.

" We arrived at the banks of the Tanais, which divides Asia from Europe. At the place where we arrived, Batou and Sartach had caused cottages to be built on the eastern bank of the river, for a company of Russians to dwell in, that they might transport ambassadors and merchants in ferry boats. When we demanded horses of the Russians, they replied that they had a privilege from Batou, whereby they were bound only to ferry goers and comers; and that they received great sums from merchants, even for that. This river is the limit of the east part of Russia.—William De Rubruquis, p. 564; this Vol. p. 238.

Serai, the capital of the Empire of Capshac, was built by Batou, grandson of Genghis, and successor to his father Touschi, the first Mongol sovereign of Capshac: it became a magnificent city. See page 46 of this Volume. FLAG 14.

We found Sartach's court within three days' journey of the Volga. He is the son of Batou, his court was very great. He had six wives. His eldest son has three wives. Every one of these women hath a great house and above two hundred carts.—William De Rubruquis, p. 564; this Vol. p. 239. FLAG 15.

Near Kasimof, on the Oka, is a Tartarian suburb, the ruins of a lofty round tower, an oratory or chapel, the remains of a palace and a mausoleum; all constructed of brick or burnt tiles. It was a populous Tartar town in 1685.—Pere Avril, p. 128; Tooke, Vol. II. p. 48. FLAG 16.

FLAG 17. The city of Kazan was built by a son of Batou, in the year 1257.—Tooke, Vol. II. p. 50.

FLAG 18. " On the Volga, below the mouth of the Kama, are found well preserved and partly magnificent (Tartar) remains of Bracktimof, or Bolgar."—Tooke, Vol. II. p. 48. Bolgar was the residence of Bereké, brother and successor of Batou (P. de la Croix, p. 387). He received Marco Polo's father and uncle with great distinction and magnificence. See M. Polo, Ch. I. sec. 1, who calls him Barka. He was engaged in a bloody war against his relation Hulacou, king of Persia.—P. de la Croix, p. 387.

FLAG 19. Astrachan was the seat of a Tartar sovereign.—Tooke, Vol. II. p. 50; see this Vol. pp. 128. 289.

FLAG 20. The Crimea was under the descendants of Genghis above five hundred years.

FLAG 21. Maraga. The capital of Hulacou, grandson of Genghis and king of Persia, who founded a school of Astronomy in this city: (he died in the year 1265).—Sir R. K. Porter's Travels, Vol. II. p. 494.

FLAG 22. Cashgar. Residence of Isan Boga Khan, descended from Zagatai, at the end of the thirteenth century.—Abul Ghazi, Vol. I. p. 167.

FLAG 23. Supposed winter position of the sovereigns of Gete, the country of Caidu, who rebelled against Kublai and Timur Kaan. Also the residence of the Turkish Khans.—See Sir William Jones's Works, Vol. I. p. 63; Abul Ghazi Bahadur, Vol. I. p. 163; Sherefeddin, Life of Timur, Vol. I. p. 330; Tooke's Russia, Vol. II. p. 37; Marsden's Marco Polo, p. 263; Petis de la Croix, p. 387; Bell of Antermony, Ch. II.; and this Vol. pp. 100, 101, 202.

FLAG 24. Semipalati, (seven palaces), a large brick building of seven rooms, in which many Mongol, Calmuc, and Tangut manuscripts were found, supposed to be prayers of the Lamas. The Tartars told Mr. Bell that it was built by Tamerlane or Genghis Khan. See Abul Ghazi, Vol. II. p. 525; Strahlenberg, p. 335; this Vol. p. 217.

When we entered Cara Cathay, the Emperor's deputy, who lived in a house, ordered some drink, and a dance by his two sons. Departing, we found a small sea with many islands in it, and we passed leaving it on our left hand. In this land liveth Ordu, the most ancient of the Tartar Dukes. It is the court of his father which he inhabiteth.—Du Plano Carpini Hakluyt, Vol. I. p. 66, &c. Cara Cathay, in De la Croix's map to the life of Genghis, reaches to latitude 55° north. See this Vol. p. 210. FLAG 25.

Changanor, or White Lake, a hunting palace of the Grand Khan Kublai. Marco Polo, p. 248. This Vol. p. 79. FLAG 26.

" On our journey from Batou to Mangu Khan, we travelled east; we had gowns made all of sheep-skins, with the wool upon them, and breeches of the same. Our guide directed us on our way by the courts of rich Mongols. *Genghis's grandsons are daily multiplied and dispersed over this huge and vast desert,* which is in dimensions like the ocean. We were at many of their habitations; they marvelled exceedingly that we would not receive either gold or silver, or precious and costly garments, at their hands. (This place is probably on Rubruquis' route, there can be no certainty, no names being given). We altered our course from east to south, and went by certain mountains for eight days. In the desert we saw many asses or mules, which we chased, but they were too swift for us. On the seventh day very high mountains appeared to the south of us. Having passed the great mountains, we entered a beautiful plain, having high mountains on our right; and on our left a tempestuous sea or lake (Baikal?), fifteen days' journey in circuit; we sailed across a mighty river (Lena?), and returned by the north side of the Lake; and there were great mountains also on that side. Rubruquis, p. 568 to 572; and Abul Ghazi, Vol. II. p. 555, where the Mongol tombs at Krasnoyarsk are described. FLAG 27.

See also Bell of Antermony, p. 209. Strahlenberg, pp. 325 to 407, respecting the tombs at Jenesai. This Vol. p. 216.

FLAG 28. Caidu (grandson of Genghis and nephew of Kublai) and his armies at all times remain in the open plains and vallies; they have no corn, but subsist on flesh and milk; they live in perfect harmony among themselves. In these districts are found white bears of a prodigious size, black foxes, wild asses, and zibelins. They travel in a tragula or sledge, which runs easily upon ice; it contains only the driver, and one merchant with his package; it is drawn by a set of animals which may be called dogs, very strong, and inured to the draught. Marco Polo, p. 737. See more particulars in Chap. V. of this volume.

FLAG 29. Yunnan. Viceroyalty of Timur Kaan, grandson of Kublai. He routed Kaidu on the banks of the Irtish, in 1289. Timur became Grand Khan in 1294. During his whole reign there was scarcely any war but that with Kaidu. Marco Polo, B. II. Ch. XXIX. & XLII. B. III. Ch. XLIV. and note 830. See Chap. V. p. 200 of this Vol.

Timur died in 1307, aged forty-two. Du Halde, Vol. I. p. 215. The Chinese name of this Emperor was Ching-tsong.

FLAG 30. Singan, capital of Shensi, is governed by Mangalu, son of the Grand Khan Kublai, and uncle of Timur Kaan. It is a country of great commerce, eminent for its silk, and manufactures. In this place likewise they prepare every article necessary for the equipment of an army. In a plain, about five miles from the city, stands a beautiful palace, belonging to king Mangalu, embellished with many fountains and rivulets, both within, and on the outside of the buildings. There is also a fine park, surrounded by a high wall, with battlements, enclosing an extent of five miles; where all kinds of wild animals, both beasts and birds, are kept for sport. In its centre is this spacious palace, which for symmetry and beauty cannot be surpassed. It contains many halls and chambers, ornamented with paintings in gold and the finest azure,

as well as with great profusion of marble. Mangalu, pursuing the footsteps of his father, governs his principality with equity, and is beloved by his people. He also takes much delight in hunting and hawking. Mangalu was viceroy of Shensi, Sechuen and Tibet. Hananta, his eldest son, succeeded his father in the same government, and also resided at Singan.—Marco Polo, p. 403. and Note 777. Singan was a famous city, B. C. 1100; see this Vol. p. 86.

See in Chapter V. p. 214, a description of the great riches in gold, &c. dug up in the numerous Mongol tombs in the neighbourhood of Tomsk.—Elephants' bones are sometimes found in these tombs. (Bell of Antermony, p. 209); and casts of the hippopotamus, (Rees's Cyc. "Hip."); and urns, with representations of hawking. A whole elephant was found in a tomb in Siberia, but it is not said precisely where. Coxe's Travels, Vol. III. p. 170. FLAG 31.

Near Azof, Tamerlane received a deputation from the consuls and merchants of Egypt, Venice, Genoa, Catalonia, and Biscay, who occupied that city. He refused their offers, plundered Azof, and reduced it to ashes.—See Sherefeddin, Vol. I. p. 502. Gibbon, Chapter LXV. p. 339. FLAG 32.

"Yang-chu-fu (or Chin-gui) is the place of residence of one of the twelve nobles appointed by the Grand Khan to the government of the Chinese provinces; and, in the room of one of these, Marco Polo, by special order of his majesty, acted as governor of this city during the space of three years."—Marco Polo, p. 485, and note 955. FLAG 33.

Para Hotun, on the river Kerlon, was built by the Mongols under Mangu and Kublai, it was two leagues in circumference. The foundations, part of the wall, and two pyramids, are now in ruins: there are ruins of their cities in twenty places.—Du Halde's description of Tartary, Vol. II. p. 251. FLAG 34.

FLAG 35. Ancient city and kingdom of Bangalla, conquered by Kublai, A. D. 1272. See Ch. VII.

FLAG 36. Ghizni, or Gazna. Residence of Octai, who succeeded his father Genghis, as Grand Khan.

FLAG 37. In the year of the Hegira, 642, an army of Mogul Tartars made an incursion into Bengal, by the way of Chitta and Tibet. Musaood IV. sent Timur to the aid of Tiggi, governor of that province, with a great army; and the Moguls received a total defeat.—Dow's Hindoostan, Vol. I. p. 179. Ferishta, says Rennell (Memoir, p. xlix.) in allusion to the above, describes an irruption of Moguls into Bengal, by way of Chitta and Thibet, in 1244. (This is the year answering to 642 of the Hegira, and not 1242, as appears in this Vol. p. 82).

Chitta has not been found in Rennell's or any other map; but there is every probability of Coos Beyhar being the place meant.—See this Vol. p. 82. In Marco Polo, p. 412, it is related that Mangu Khan, (he was the brother of Kublai, and preceded him as Grand Khan) " carried his arms into Thibet, and entirely laid waste that country: to the distance of twenty days' journey you see numberless towns and castles in a state of ruin; and wild beasts, especially tigers, have multiplied to such a degree, that there is great danger in travelling;"—with many more particulars respecting Thibet.

Here is *another* confirmation of the truth and accuracy of Marco Polo.

FLAG 38. When Prince Zagatai was come into the country of Quirman, with his numerous army, A. D. 1222, he took, by degrees, all the places in that country, according to the orders he had received from his father, Genghis Khan; who, being well informed of the unhealthfulness of this province, had charged him to take great care of the soldiers. The capital city is called Quirman (the ancients called the province

Carmania). From hence he led his troops into Makran, which at this time made a part of Sinde: he took the city of Tiz, in latitude 26°, and some other places, which he destroyed; and he passed the winter in Quelanger, a country situate on the borders of the Indies. (In De l'Isle's map to the life of Genghis, Quelanger is on the west side of the Delta of the Indus).

As Zagatai designed to stay a long time in this place, the soldiers made themselves a great number of houses: there were some who even got very fine flocks of sheep; and they subsisted with greater ease, because the prince had made the quarters for the troops of so great an extent, that they did not incommode one another. Every soldier had his slaves who served him. The troops employed themselves in cultivating gardens, and began to solace themselves, as if they had been in a country which they supposed was going to be divided amongst them; and which they were to settle in for the rest of their lives. But being in a region, the climate of which was very different from that they were born in; when the customary scorching winds began to blow, they, almost all of them, fell sick, and a great number died. The survivors were so weak and languid, that if the sultan had had an army to oppose them, he would have totally ruined this of the Moguls.

Zagatai removed his troops from one place to another, to recover their strength; and as the slaves, whom they had taken in the neighbouring places, were a burthen to the soldiers who were charged with the care of them; he ordered that the greatest part of them should be put to death: and in one day those miserable beings were killed. After this, the army encamped in a more temperate country, and the troops recovered. Zagatai having received orders to repair to the Grand Khan, he placed garrisons in the conquered cities, and countries; and leaving the government of them all to one of his lieutenants,

he marched northward; one part of his army going along the borders of India, under a lieutenant-general; while he, with the rest, took the road to Balkh, at which place the general rendezvous was appointed. —Petis de la Croix, p. 336.

REMARK.

In the constructing of this map, the writer has consulted the best authorities known to him. The old maps to the lives of Genghis and of Tamerlane, and that to Abul Ghazi, prove how ignorant Europe was with regard to Northern Asia a century ago. There is even now a space between Hindoostan and Siberia, and from Lake Aral to the sea of Japan, more extensive than Europe, which is scarcely known even by name. Those places, about which authors vary considerably, have been omitted, rather than incur the risk of misleading the reader.

FINIS.

LIST

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was absent thirty-four years; and, on his return, he regretted that "virtue is gone, the church is under foote, the clergy is in errour, the devill reigneth, and simonie beareth the sway." This was in the year of the battle of Poictiers! Sir John Maundevile reasons on his observations of the "Sterre Antartyk," &c. and, therefrom, concludes that the earth is a globe, and that a ship might sail underneath without any fear of falling "toward the Heven, as semethe to symple men unlerned." It is not probable that his observation of 33° 16′ south, was correct. He died at Leige, Nov. 17, 1371, and was buried there, with an inscription upon his tomb, in the French of that time: "Vos ki paseis sor mi, pour l'amour Deix, proies por mi."

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Polo, Marco.—Travels of, 4to. translated by William Marsden, F.R S. &c. 1818. —Justice is, at length, done to the Columbus of the *East*. The more this author is known, the higher his reputation rises. In addition to the elucidations and confirmations of the veracity of Marco Polo, which appear in this excellent edition of his travels, (to which the writer acknowledges great obligations), four or five further discoveries of his correctness will be found in these Researches. Marco Polo was many years in the service of the Grand Khan Kublai: he was three years governor of the city of Yan-gui. (M. Polo, 485). He returned to Venice in the year 1295, immensely rich. It was from reading Marco Polo's description of the great distance to which Japan reached eastward, that Columbus felt persuaded those countries

might be arrived at by a shorter voyage, by sailing to the west; and, on his first discoveries, he imagined the American islands to be a part of the East Indies. We therefore perhaps owe the discovery of America to this celebrated traveller.—See Robertson's Ancient India, note XLVI.

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ERRATA.

Page.	*Line.*	
16	10	*for* Sercbrenkaia *read* Serebrenkaia
61	18	*after* relief *for* ; *read*)
67	3	*dele* south,
99	16	*for* guilded. *read* gilded.
120	3	*for* reminded *read* and reminded
152	18	*for* composed *read* was composed
169	2	*after* Emperor *add* :
	8	*dele* Calil's *read* the
170	Note *	*for* grandsons' *read* grandsons
Chap. VI.		*for* á oú *read* à où
229	5	*for* now here *read* nowhere
230	Note † line 3	*for* Ch. XV. *read* end of this Ch.
240	last line,	*after* found *add* ;
244	5	*for* Ticuman *read* Tieuman
251	12	*for* pér *read* par
252	14	*for* out *read* ont
302	12	*for* and fifty-four elephants, *read* fifty-four elephants
325	11	*for* commanded *read* command
355	12	from bottom, *for* 2 A, *read* 12 A.
359	12	*to the word* Avon, *add this note*—* The name in Tacitus is Antona. Murphy and Gordon translate it *Nen.* Camden thinks that the true reading is Nen. Rapin translates it Avon. See Ainsworth, Aufona and Antona.
385	Medal 23,	In the Zodiac, the sign Libra is where that of Virgo should be. It is faithfully copied from Haym.
391	Margin,	*dele* A.D. 192.
409	22	*after* that *read* the
464	Title,	*for* to *read* from
505	6	*for* Carpini *read* Carpini, in
507	20	*for* Chin-gui *read* Yan-gui

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